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Pro-Slavery.

From the (Batavia, N. Y.) Spirit of the Times.

PROPOSED DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

If anything is calculated to create alarm in the mind of American citizens as to the stability of the Union, it is such demonstrations as the late meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. That band of Traitors, (for we can call them by no milder name,) have thrown off all disguise, and come out openly and boldly, in an organized opposition to our glorious Confederacy, and against the whole American Church.

That there may be no mistake as to the character and movements of this Society, we quote some of its published proceedings at the meeting referred to, which was held at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the 24th, 25th, and 26th January.

In one of the resolutions is the following:—"Resolved, That we cannot look upon the Free Soil party as an Anti-Slavery party in any proper sense of the term, as no effectual resistance can be made to the Slave power, *except by a party prepared and pledged to trample under foot the compromises of the Constitution.*" In another—"Resolved, That the Church which does not make the immediate abolition of Slavery its special concern *is not worthy to be recognized as a Church of Christ, has no claim upon human sympathy or respect, and ought to be abandoned by every one as radically defective in Christian principle and character.*" Another resolution, introduced by Seward Mitchell, is as follows:—"Resolved, That as the American Church has been fully proved to be the bulwark of Slavery, *we believe the time has come when it should be destroyed, root and branch, as of no use to the people, and a curse* to every cause of moral Reform." In another—"Resolved, That the one great object to be attempted and achieved, * * is, *the immediate dissolution of the American Union,* a Union based upon the prostrate bodies of three millions of the people, and cemented with their blood." Another resolution urges as a duty upon all, to sign "*the petitions to the Legislature for the immediate secession of Massachusetts from a Union, in which she is held as a vassal, and which serves only to pollute and degrade her.*"

When such resolutions as these, can be put forth with impunity from *old Faneuil Hall,* the cradle of the Revolution, we need talk no more of *Hartford Conventions,* or any other secret conspiracy against the Union. When we last visited that Hall, its venerated walls were hung around with the Adam's, the Hancock's, the Franklin's, and other worthies of 76, who periled "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours," to achieve the independence and Union of these States, and if they hang there still, we can almost wonder that they did not cry out from the canvass, at the treachery of their degenerate sons. We can have some charity for the errors and delusions into which poor frail mortals are often led by religious enthusiasm, so long as they abstain from undertaking to control political affairs; but when, as in this abolition crusade, its leaders, like Peter the Hermit, would depopulate and shed the blood of all Christendom for the sake of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels, they ought to be regarded as wolves in sheeps clothing, rather than as honest and patriotic American citizens.

If Slavery were the *only* curse of this People and Nation, then it might well be made the "Scape Goat" to bear our one great sin into the wilderness, and leave us not only pure, but united and happy. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case, and not the least evil under which our land groans, is, that pharisaical spirit so conspicuously exhibited by this Massachusetts Society, which says to all who do not embrace its creed, "stand by, come not nigh me, I am holier than thou." They cannot wait for "the wheat and tares to grow together until the harvest." They cannot "eat with publicans and sinners." They would "destroy the American Church root and branch, as a curse to every cause of moral reform." The *Almighty,* for wise and beneficent purposes, could suffer his own chosen people to remain in bondage for four hundred years, but these people cannot wait the slow movements of the wheels of Providence, and must needs apply a little axtra steam to give them railroad velocity. In short, Massachusetts must be cut loose from the Train; and measures must be taken for the "*immediate dissolution of the American Union.*"

From the (Newbern, N. C.) Republican.

FREE SOIL MAP.

The most disgraceful and insulting allusion yet perpetrated towards the South by the Abolitionists of the North, has met our eye in a recent number of the N. Y. *Tribune.* This is a notice of what is called "Lewis's Free Soil, Slavery, and Territorial Map," which is thus described: "the Free States are yellow, the territories light blue, and the slaveholding States are shaded so *dark* with India Ink that it is difficult to read the names of some of the places." And this map is recommended to notice by the *Tribune!* It is indeed a matter to draw forth our indignation, when so base an insult—so gross a caricature upon one portion of the States is publicly recommended by a leading newspaper of another. Beware; endurance will soon cease to be a virtue, if this foul spirit of abolitionism is to mix itself up with all our associations with that section of the country. The "big black blot" of abolitionism will yet raise a storm that may rend the Union asunder. The people of the Southern States love the Union, and to preserve it they are ever ready to do their part. But there is a greater evil impending than the dissolution of this glorious confederation; it is the submission of this section to the tyranical domination of another. Everything is not to be endured. It is no wonder that the South is jealous of her rights and repels interference with her domestic institutions, when insult is added to injury—when she is held up to the world as a "big black spot" upon this Union of equal States. We say again, Beware!

THE QUESTION BEFORE US.—The question which is now beginning to agitate the public mind in Kentucky, is one which seems to involve the interests and the future welfare of the people more *directly,* than any one which has arisen for a series of years past; and it cannot be denied that its agitation, at this particular period, has been brought about for the purpose of either defeating the grand object of a State Convention, or for the purpose of elevating to conspicuous stations *certain men,* who are most actively engaged in fomenting the difficulties which, recently, *all* seemed most anxiously to avoid.

All other matters, of a controversial nature, seem to have merged into this important question, and national politics appear to have been lost sight of, in Kentucky, in the great excitement which is likely to grow out of the agitation of it. This excitement is likely to swallow up everything else, and lead to a new organization of parties, or a radical change in the position hitherto occupied by *one of them,* and to infuse more of the bitterness of personal ill-feeling into the ranks of society, than all the *political differences* which have existed, ever engendered.

The course which *certain* prominent men in this region will take, on the subject of the abolition of Slavery, no longer remains in doubt. They are already showing their hands, and the day is near when they are, as we learn, to throw off the *mask altogether,* and proclaim their sentiments in a public meeting, to be called for that purpose.

This meeting is to be held in Maysville on next County Court day, and we hear that the name of every Abolitionist in the county is to be appended to the call. Should such a meeting be held, (and we are assured that it will,) we shall then be able to know who are the *agitators,* and who favour the plan, which has been so severely denounced by Kentuckians heretofore; and after that, we shall have something further to say in relation to what we consider at present, an ill-advised and dangerous step on the part of certain party leaders.—*Maysville Daily Flag.*

☞ On the 26th ult. the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery society, of the Garrison stripe, closed a convention in Faneuil Hall. The convention was composed of the most violent of the abolition fanatics.—Among other matters they resolved that one great object "which ought to be attempted and achieved is the immediate dissolution of the American Union."

These Anti-Slavery fanatics of the North who are labouring for the dissolution of the Union, and the Slavery fanatics of the South who are labouring for the same object, deserve the punishment of traitors. We suppose they must be allowed to talk as they please, but, if they dare to commit any overt act of treason, we hope they all will be hanged in couples, a Northern traitor and a Southern traitor upon each gallows.—*Louisville Journal.*

Selections.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS ON DISUNION.

It is both interesting and curious to mark, at this time, the tone of the Southern press on Disunion. We have before us a huge pile of papers from all parts of the Slave States, in nearly every one of which we find something touching this question. We make some extracts, and shall make more as we have room, taking them as they happen to come.

From the La Grange (Ga.) Reporter.

"VOX ET PRAETEREA NIHIL."

The National Anti Slavery Standard, published in New York, by the American Anti-Slavery Society boasts, says the Augusta Republic, that the Southern Meetings will end in *vox et praeterea nihil—(voice and nothing else.)*

This extract presents a birds-eye view of what opinion our brethren of the North entertain of the South and Southern energies. Are they right, when they think we will suffer infringing encroachments? THE PEOPLE MUST SPEAK OUT.

In a former article, *we* have declared our respect and adhesion to the *Constitutional Union* of our country. We venerate it. It is the glorious legacy of our forefathers. Its existence, unmarred, untarnished, and bright as it came from revolutionary hands, will secure to all Americans peace, prosperity, and the joys of liberty. To obtain these blessings, our Sires devoted their fortunes, lives and property—They sacrificed the paradise of home, the kind and delightful enjoyments of the domestic hearth and boldly launched into WAR, sublimely battling against famine, cold, sleet, the bloody bayonets of a disciplined soldiery, numbering double what they numbered; yea, against *a world arrayed under the iron Legislation of an entailed hereditary monarchy.*—Powerful in the right cause, that of the liberty and equality of man, they succeeded. To protect and preserve these blessings, *we* have but to be *virtuous* and STERNLY, and FIRMLY REPUBLICAN. Shall we not *be* so? Is it a sacrifice to be so?

Let us, for a moment, see the situation of affairs. The result of the Mexican war has made large additions to the Territory of the United States. In view of these acquisitions, it has been imprudently by some, unpatriotically and demagogically by others (we dare to say it) endeavoured to force upon the adoption of our National Congress, principles, of which the unfortunate Wilmot Proviso is the fearful expression and most complete embodiment. Our Constitution, formed in the spirit of just and deliberate compromise, secures to each individual citizen of the Confederacy, equal and inviolate rights. To the Southerner, the right to hold his slave property; and the land whereon to make it useful. To the Northerner the right of holding his Manufactory and the land whereon to make *it* useful. This, moreover, is equity. Common blood and common treasure were expended in the acquisition of our common Territory; California, New Mexico, &c. &c. To this the South has an equal right with the North and *vice versa,* but to it the North has no exclusive right. Then have the advocates of the UNJUST PRINCIPLE, personified above, a RIGHT to obtrude ITS adoption upon our National Congress? The Constitution itself gives the answer—NO. Then it is our duty by deeds to resist; and not by flimsy, weak, and watery words, to invite these unhallowed agitators to the conquest of American liberty.

Have our actions of opposition been strongly enough marked up to the present date? We say they have not; and that we may not be mistaken, we refer to the opinion which our Northern brethren entertain of us. Southern opposition meetings, say they, will end in *Vox et praeterea nihil; in voice and nothing else! In voice and nothing else?* Is this the energy of the South? Is this the spirit of a land full of noble, and generous, and patriotic emotions? This proposition is not, cannot be; it shall not be an exposition of our character, if we will only prove ourselves equal to the high and noble parentage we claim.

We are glad to see that so many of our brethren of the press speak boldly upon the subject upon consideration. We want the PEOPLE to speak. Let the CONSTITUENCY support, by advice, a Representation which *we fear has been tottering* beneath the responsibilities of the present urgent and important crisis. Let us be understood. We do not seek the *organization of a Southern party.* We do not ask the existence of such a selfish combination to support our views. We want the people to speak; as they have before spoken. Speak in their might, that the Constitution SHALL BE (without equivocation) SUPPORTED. Georgia, our noble State! upon whose soil we are proud to claim our birth, has long since promulgated as her opinion that the Constitution does not warrant the principles of David Wilmot. At the last session of our Legislature, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Senate of Georgia:

> Resolved, That any territory acquired or to be acquired, by the arms of the United States, or by Treaty with a foreign power, becomes the common property of the several States composing this confederacy, and whilst it so continues, it is the right of each citizen of each and every State, to reside with his property of every description within such Territory.
>
> Resolved, That in the opinion of the General Assembly, the people of Georgia at the ensuing Presidential election, shall not, and will not support any man for the Presidency or Vice Presidency, who favours the principles of the Wilmot Proviso.

Troup county, always right, has spoken out too. At several different times she has declared herself upon this question. A meeting of her citizens, favourable to the election of Zachary Taylor, held on the 24th of June last, adopted the following resolution:

> Resolved, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of Slavery as it exists, either in the States or Territories of this Government. Nor has the citizens of the Territories the right to determine whether Slavery shall exist in their borders, until they shall be erected into States; and their Constitution shall settle this important point.

At a meeting of the Young Men's Taylor Club, held in the Court House at La Grange, on the 8th of July last, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

> Resolved, That we regard the Territories of the United States as the common property of the States, free for the settlements of all, as much so for the citizens of the Slave States as the citizens of the Free States and that no power on earth known to the Constitution, can throw any restriction around the full exercise of this privilege, so far as the transportation of slaves to the Territories, and the complete ownership and enjoyment of their possession therein.

Now what we ask of the people is to say what they will do in case that Constitution, which they declare does not countenance the principles of Wilmot is violated. *We* say, should IT be violated; should IT be wantonly trampled; the citizens of these United States had better sunder the nominal bands which will then bind them together. Yea, disunite—Be separated—And that too without the previous organization of Great Parties, and the concomitant dangerous log-rolling.

Our principles are the Constitutional Union of the United States FOREVER. But an unconstitutional Union—where one party to the federal compact has no acknowledged and respected rights—NEVER.

* * * * *

Is IT the part of true wisdom for us of the South to foster and build up one sectional party at the North and another at the South? Would it not be better for the extreme sectional politicians to recede a little, and take ground on which *all men of all parties in the slaveholding States can stand shoulder to shoulder like a band of brothers,* rather than to be forever erecting Alabama platforms, so soon to be surrendered by the builders themselves, who will shortly abuse all the YANCY's in the sunny South that fail to do likewise? Is such a dubious, shifting, blustering, capricious course as this calculated to command respect, or excite contempt? Are we now to bestow the largest reward of public esteem on politicians who are the most *ultra* in all their measures, the most *selfish* in all their schemes, and the most *disloyal* to the Union in all their plans? Have our readers forgotten the men of the party that so recently denounced Mr. CALHOUN as a disunionist; a nullifier; and a treasonable agitator? Have they forgotten that the Southern democracy, when in power—the very men who are endeavouring, by a system of reckless demagogueism, to lash the South into a sectional controversy with the hope of regaining place—were loud in their denunciation of Mr. CALHOUN, as an *agitator* and *traitor* to the Union because of his agitation of the Slavery question in Congress, and his frequent appeals to the South in regard to abolition? Is *ultraism* in politics so exceedingly useful to the public peace, that all good citizens should offer a large standing bounty to the demagogue that will rant the loudest or the longest on any topic of an exciting character?

Such a mistaken policy will doubtless make vehement demagogues very plenty, who will confidently assure you that their amiable "blood is boiling hot" for any popular movement.

Had the Democratic presses of the South united with the Whigs, in keeping all free territories and States west of Texas out of the Union, unless their Anti-Slavery laws were openly and plainly repealed, all this most unfortunate difficulty would have been avoided. Democrats were earnestly and repeatedly forewarned and admonished of the untold evils, heart-burnings, sectional bitterness and alienation, which the needless purchase of New Mexico would bring upon the country. But buy it they would, and buy it they did. Immediately it divided their own party, and now both North and South they threaten to dissolve the Union. The *Constitutionalist* says: "But if Gen. TAYLOR should surrender to the North and sign the bill, (with the Proviso) THEN we would raise on high the flag of secession—THEN WE would say of these Northern haters of Slavery, who would thus brand us as degraded inferiors, 'we can do better without them than with them on such terms.'"—*Chronicle and Sentinel (Augusta Ga.)*

THE SOUTHERN MEETING.

Mr. Calhoun is represented as having urged before the Southern Caucus, *a dissolution of the Union as preferable to submission, if the Wilmot Proviso is fastened upon the South.* For the first time in the history of our beloved country, is the dissolution of the Union spoken of as an evil of small magnitude. Time was when such sentiments were regarded as treasonable, and he who uttered them was in danger of *tar and feathers.* Then was fresh in the memory of America's sons, the valedictory admonitions and warnings of the Father of his country. Then was our young Republic dear to every heart, and party strifes and sectional interests consumed upon the altar of patriotism. Then North and South did not convey the idea of enemies struggling in deadly conflict—but brothers mutually dependent—receiving nourishment and vigour from a common mother—the Union. But the scene is changed, and what a change! Grave Senators and Legislators now meet in Convention in the Capitol—bearing the name of Washington—and calmly discuss the propriety of disunion. With unblushing effrontery they desecrate the *very temple of Union* by their treasonable caucuses.

"Liberty and Union, one and inseparable." Liberty cannot survive the Union; like the Siamese twins, they are so linked together by destiny, they must inhabit a common grave. The Union with or without the Wilmot Proviso, is the patriot's motto.—*[Paducah] West Kentuckian.*

From the [Ga.] Augusta Constitutionalist.

THE SOUTHERN RECORDER.

Our readers will find in our columns a high-toned, frank, and *thoroughly Southern* editorial from the Southern Recorder. It might be a piece of doubtful modesty were we to suppress the complimentry allusions to our own efforts. We therefore publish the editorial entire, accompanied with our best acknowledgments. But it is for a public, not a personal motive that we copy it. We are pleased to find in so influential a journal, opposed to us as it is on general and State politics, so genuine a Southern sympathy upon a question eminently Southern, and not legitimately connected with party. We confess our heart warms with a genial and clannish sympathy towards those Northern Whig editors who show that they feel as we feel, and will boldly speak as we speak, in reference to "the nefarious aggressions of the incendiaries in Congress and out of it," upon Southern rights—that will declare the South has been "annoyed, wronged and injured by the fanatic course pursued towards them." We hail with cordial delight the following declaration, appearing as it does in a Southern Whig paper.

> For ourselves, while we have reason to doubt, and more than to doubt, in regard to the peculiar decision of the issue, we have long, very long, been fully impressed with the conviction, that unless the perpetual injuries on this delicate subject are stopped by Congress and those sections which are so constantly annoying us, and undermining our very safety as a people—unless the non-slaveholding States will let us alone upon our own social institution, our safety, to say nothing of our rights, require that those who thus treat us as enemies, should know the solemn conviction of the South, that we would be better without them than with them on such terms, and that inimical demonstrations on their part, so fraught with insult, injury and danger, must cease, or our Union with them must cease.

If this language were used in a Democratic paper in Georgia, most of the Whig papers would pounce upon it as factious and disorganizing. They would prate about its *treasonable,* aye, *treasonable* tendencies, and would declaim in puerile metaphor about the glorious Union.

It is refreshing occasionally to see in a Southern Whig press the opinion avowed that Northern Anti-Slavery aggression may be carried to a point at which disunion would be desirable to us.

The question now in discussion with us is, what is that point?

The Southern Recorder does not know and does not venture an opinion upon it. Whether the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, which, says the Recorder, "will be vetoed by Mr. Polk, and as certainly by General Taylor, will be deemed by the South cause obligatory for its severance, we are not prepared to say." Well, in truth, this shows a wholesome degree of hostility to the Proviso, if the Recorder thinks the people of the South ought to discuss the propriety of a severance if the Wilmot Proviso passed both Houses of Congress, and were vetoed by General Taylor. We do not carry our hostility to so unreasonable an extent. As long as there is a President in the Chair who will veto the bill, we should never raise our voice for a severance. We would urge the South to stand by the Union. But if General Taylor should surrender to the North, *and sign the bill,* THEN we would raise on high the flag of secession—THEN we would say of these Northern haters of Slavery, who would thus brand us as degraded inferiors, "We can do better without them than with them on such terms."

The Recorder relies implicitly on Gen. Taylor to veto. We hope it may not be mistaken, and that the old General may live his full term of four years to keep down and crush this foul and venomous offspring of Anti-Slavery. Should the President elect, lik the venerable Harrison, be untimely cut off, and that man Fillmore, the avowed advocate for a war upon Slavery by every means in the power of Congress, should succeed to the Presidency, God help us, the Union would not be worth a month's purchase.

The Recorder wishes the people to speak out their determination, as to what and how much indignity they will bear. It commits itself to no determination, or opinion of its own. This is *very* cautious and reserved. We would better like an opinion given and a course advocated by a paper of such high standing. Such a paper is looked to usually as something more than as a mere journalizer which follows public opinion and public action, and records what has been thought and done by the people in a great crisis.

But we are glad that the Recorder is now so far with us that it thinks the people OUGHT "TO SPEAK OUT THEIR DETERMINATION." But a short time ago it seemed to condemn all such speaking out as factious—disorganizing—it thought that everything was propitious—that "abolition spirit was *wearing itself out.*" That it was "confined only to a few fanatics." We are pleased to see a change come over this dream of false security. Let it raise its potent voice to rouse the people to speak out, and to declare that they will sustain Gen. Taylor in vetoing the Wilmot Proviso—that they will denounce him as a traitor to the South if he signs such a bill, and that they would rather withdraw from the Union than submit to it—let them declare the same thing in reference to any and all bills interfering with Slavery in the District of Columbia—let them refuse to submit to any legislation by Congress touching Slavery in the territory—in the District and in the States, even though succession be the remedy, and the South will triumph. Abolitionism will pause—fanaticism will stay its hand. The good sense and selfish interest of the North will rise up and put a check to this march of aggression, and thus save the Union. Let the South be firm and "SPEAK OUT HER DETERMINATION," and the North will pause and stop short. Her selfishness is stronger than her fanaticism. The Union has a value to her in dollars and cents. She cannot drive the South out of it and still prosper. But let the South listen to the Siren song of peace, while her enemies are moving down with giant strides upon her, in and out of Congress; let her avow that submission to any laws touching Slavery is better than disunion, and she will be trampled in the dust.

Look at the effect of the Southern meetings at Washington. This practical display of energy and proud defiance has done perceptible good. It has caused Congress to retrocede several steps. The South owes to that meeting, and its projectors, a lasting debt of gratitude.

From the Jacksonville (Florida) News.

THE SOUTHERN MEETING.

We regret to perceive by the last accounts from Washington, a want of unanimity among the Southern members of Congress most dangerous to the effect to be produced by their action. It seems to have grown out of the inordinate ambition of a few Representatives who prefer a union with the North, to one with their Southern brethren, sagaciously foreseeing more influence, more office. Their ostensible ground is this: that General TAYLOR will oppose strongly the efforts of the Abolitionists, and that therefore any representation of the present crisis to the South is useless, General TAYLOR being amply able to supply all that is wanted. This excuse is false, and that which it is intended to conceal is traitorous. General TAYLOR, we have contended from the beginning, will never veto the Wilmot Proviso. So confident are his Southern friends of this, that they have endeavoured to prepare the public mind for the step. They have represented the matter as an abstract question. They have portrayed the country as a barren waste. They have endeavoured to carry through the scheme for the immediate introduction of California as a State, so that slaves could not legally be conveyed thither. They have thrown cold water upon every effort made by the rest of the South to secure a respectful consideration of their rights. Our neighbour of the Republican has even gone so far as to invoke the sympathies of "*poor white men who owned no slaves.*"

All this is but a part of a general plan in which but a portion of the Whig party are engaged.—General TAYLOR was elected as a Southern Whig who would veto the Wilmot Proviso. He has been charged with it and his denial has never appeared. His scheming advisers now look to receive the reward of their treachery.

Foremost among the Southern men with Northern principles appears Mr. STEPHENS of Georgia, a gentleman who has obtained the title of the "Randolph" of the House. Whatever he may be termed in Washington, he can be known in most of the slaveholding States under no other name than that of the "Arnold" of the South. He may be equal to that odious namesake in talent,—he most certainly is his equal in the disposition to sacrifice all for himself.—We have been snarled at almost every week or so, by the "Republican," for reprobating the course of this Southern Representative. In justification we need only to point to his acts of the past and the present. He was opposed, last session, to the bill which left the question to the Supreme Court. By his means, partly, we were defrauded out of an opportunity to compromise with the North in Oregon. A resolution now passes the House for the abolition of Slavery in the District, and Mr. STEPHENS objects to any representation being made to the South of the danger which hangs over them. A Southern Committee is appointed, and he resigns. We are happy to hear that he is held in Washington, in equal contempt by both Southern Democrats and Southern Whigs.

We regret to hear that, throughout all these exciting scenes, the health of Mr. CABELL has been so delicate, that the State of Florida has been altogether unrepresented in the House. We do not mean to be uncharitable when we say that Mr. CABELL would have shown more devotion to the interests of his constituents and himself, if he had struggled more against his indisposition and made less of an effort to blazon it over the country. If a residence in Washington affects his health so injuriously, he should resign the interests of Florida into the hands of some one with a stronger constitution.

From the Albany [Ga.] Patriot.

THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHREN MEMBERS

TO THEIR CONSITUENTS.

We have published a part of this address this week, and shall publish the remainder in our next paper. It is said to be the production of Mr. Calhoun. The importance of the subject which it discusses, and the world-wide fame of its author will cause it to be generally read. We have read it carefully, and can find in it none of the objections which have been discovered by the microscopic vision of of Whig politicians. It appears to us to be a plain and impartial statement of facts, which cannot be denied, without a perversion of truth. The address sets forth the alarming progress which the Abolitionists have made in Congress this winter, and proves conclusively, that if all their plans, already commenced to harrass the slave owners are suffered to proceed, that the property of the Southern planters will soon be of no value to them, and that emancipation must soon follow of necessity.—The address closes with a solmen appeal to the South to be united, and present an unbroken front to the encroachments of the Abolitionists. This the author believes may yet secure the honour and property of the South, and save the Union.

We have also read Mr. Berriens address to the citizens of the United States, which was intended as a substitute for Mr. Calhoun's. Both addresses are full of sound reason and patriotism. The same arguments and in many places the same words are used in both. The only material difference between them, that we can discover, is that Mr. Berrien's is addressed to the people of the whole United States and Mr. Calhoun's to the people of the Southern States—beyond this, we have not as yet discovered any substantial difference in sentiment or argument. Indeed, Mr. Berrien's address in many places appears to be a literal copy of Mr. Calhoun's. They both acknowledge that many of the Statesmen of the North have heretofore sustained the Constitution and the rights of the South. Neither of them, as far as we can see, have hinted at what they believe will be the policy of General Taylor on this important subject, but both appear to be alarmed at the overwhelming strength which the Abolitionists will probably have in the next Congress. After reading these addresses, will some of our Georgia editors still contend that there is no danger—that the excitement has all been got up by the Democrats for party purposes? If they will only open their eyes, and examine the facts arrayed in *either* of these addresses, they *will,* they must see, that the Abolitionists have made more and greater encroachments upon the rights of the South this winter, than they have ever made before, since the adoption of the Constitution. And these things have not been done by *Democrats.* Since the election of General Taylor and Millard Fillmore, the Abolitionists in Congress have been more audacious, more insulting, and more successful, than they ever were before. Let politicians account for this if they can.

AGITATE! AGITATE!!—This is the cry of Northern Abolitionists and Southern ultraists. They worked together harmoniously to defeat the election of the Lonisiana Planter, and failing in that, they now coöperate in a common effort to embarrass and break down his administration, before they know what that administration proposes to do. A course so unusual and so unjust can injure nobody but those that follow it. The Macon *Telegraph* has the following:

> "The defeat of the compromise bill by Southern Whigs was one of the most stupendous and abominable political frauds that was ever planned by the blinded passions and prejudices of party.
>
> "In this connexion, we would call public attention to the communication signed "One of the People," in another column of this day's paper. We agree entirely with our correspondent in regard to the propriety of holding meetings throughout the State, to give expressions of opinion on the great question now uppermost in every true Southern mind."

Agitation is all that the most intense Anti-Slavery men desire. The rest will follow as a natural consequence. It was by agitation that the Anti-Slavery men of England induced Parliament to abolish the institution in all the West India Islands belonging to Great Britain. The holders of slaves number, all told, hardly more than one-tenth of the legal voters in the United States. To *strengthen* the hands of these, the Southern democratic journals are vehement in their partizan appeals for ceaseless, universal agitation of the Slavery question.

They have attempted to ride this important question as a political hobby, since they began the work of "re-annexing Texas" and all beyond it, to the American confederacy. Is it not time for sober men of all parties to inquire, how much good Slavery has received from al this agitation? Who does not know that it has given birth to a powerful Democratic Free Soil Organization' in all of the non-slaveholding States? Mr. VAN BUREN is the candidate of this party for President in 1852. To render him sure of success in all the Northern States, and of his election, we of the South have only to adopt the policy recommended by the Macon *Telegraph.* Southern democrats are the fathers of the new breed of Northern Anti-Slavery democrats, who are ten times more to be feared than all the fanatical Abolitionists in Christendom. The back-bone of the Free Soil party is composed not of canting sentimentalists, who look upon Slavery as a very wicked thing; but of large masses of hard working men, who are taught by cunning politicians to regard Slavery as degrading to them, and antagonistical to their interests. Without agitation and public meetings both North and South, these honest peaceable citizens will stay at home and attend to their daily toil, and cannot be arrayed against our peculiar institution. Rely upon it, the agitation of Mr. CALHOUN, his admirers and followers, can work nothing but injury to the South. It is not improbable that in bringing the republic of Texas into the Union, the democracy have given him more than he bargained for. If this be true, how can popular meetings in Georgia expel the free territories from the Union, which President POLK has purchased and annexed? We did our best to keep New Mexico and California out of the Confederacy unless their laws forbidding Slavery were first repealed. But Southern democratic journals obstinately refused to join us in asking for such repeal.—*(Augusta, Ga.) Chronicle and Sentinel.*

HON. JAMES WILSON ON THE PACHECO CASE AND SLAVERY EXTENSION.

(Concord) Independent Democrat, and Freeman, to a letter of Richard Emerson on the subject of Slavery-extension, as follows:—

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1849.

HONOURED SIR: It gives me great pleasure to learn that my argument against the claims of the heirs of Pacheco, gives satisfaction to the friends of Freedom in the third Congressional district in New-Hampshire. It was simply an argument upon the legal question raised in that case. I feel quite certain that the ground taken that *a slave is not property under the last clause of the fifth article of the Amendments of the Constitution* is the only true ground and that it is entirely impregnable, notwithstanding the House decided by a small majority, against my position.

I think it clearly the most bold arrogant, yea flagrant case that ever has occurred since the adoption of the Constitution. It is assuming on the part of the slave power of the country a new position. For thirty years after the Constitution was adopted no such claim was ever made upon Congress. No such claim has ever been recognized and paid when contested; until this claim of the heirs of Pacheco, for the negro man Lewis. His is the first and leading case—and now and henceforth, such claims will rush in upon Congress from all parts of the slaveholding region of our country, to make the Treasury of the Union chargeable for the payment of slaves as *property.* I shall resist all such claims to the utmost of my power.

Upon the subject of extending Slavery over the new Territories, I can say that I *never* will assent to any farther extension—*Never! Never!*

Slavery is the curse of the country. It never shall extend another inch if I can prevent it.—Whatever position I may occupy in public or private life, all the talents and power I may possess shall be faithfully devoted to a strenuous opposition to the farther extension of Slavery. It induces everything that is bad in morals—it interrupts and disturbs the harmonious action of the affairs of Government—it prevents improvement in the country—it interposes obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge—it resists the progress of the religion of our Saviour—it benumbs the enterprise of the people—in a word, it is surrounded by evil and unaccompanied by good. I am opposed to it—steadily, unwaveringly, uncomprisingly opposed to it, I regard the Constitution of the United States with profound respect, and hold myself bound by the most solemn obligations to support and maintain it.

Where the Constitution recognizes Slavery within the Slaves States, I can have nothing to do with it—if Congress has not power over it in such States, but in the Territories of the United States—in the District of Columbia—upon all Territory belonging to the United States, and over which Congress has jurisdiction, Slavery shall not exist if my vote will put an end to it.

With high regard, your obedient servant,

JAMES WILSON.

RICHARD EMERSON, Esq. Hancock, N. H.

From the Tribune.

THE UNION IN DANGER.—A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

Letter to the Editor, dated

UNIVERSITY OF VA. Feb. 3, 1849.

HORACE GREELEY: *Sir*—The present aspect of affairs awaken sad anticipations in every patriotic mind. *Disunion,* a word formerly scarce known in our vocabulary, is now put in the mouth of every one. Men's eyes seem closed. Standing on the brink of a precipice as we are, we speak of jumping off as if it were nothing. To recount the horrors of a dissolution would be needless. Let the people *think* on it, and the picture would present itself to their minds sufficiently revolting. That the present state of affairs has been brought about in each section of the Union by a misconception of the thoughts and feelings of the other, is my firm conviction. The minds of the Southern people, poisoned and inflamed by the misrepresentations of designing politicians, have learned to look upon their Northern brethren as their enemies in interest and feeling. A subject of such mighty moment will always command hearers. High-sounding phrase and vaunting declamation of oppression, crises and such humbugs, readily misled the public mind. And now that their senseless babble has brought us to the verge of the disruption of this glorious Union, the people are not yet awakened to their condition. Is it not plain to any thinking mind that this mighty fabric of a crisis is founded on the most atrocious humbug that ever disturbed the peace of any community? That the interests of the North are the interests of the South—that the interests of the South are the interests of the North—and that a disunion of our interests would be a *curse,* from the effects of which neither section would recover for centuries? Why is this subject agitated at the North? *We* are most heartily sick and tired of the vile institution that has caused all this trouble, but the curse is upon us and cannot be suddenly removed. We are well aware that the employment of Slave Labour acts as an incubus on our energies, and prevents us from competing with our more fortunate brethren at the North. In Virginia it is a kind of property that scarcely pays its own expenses; but how are we to get rid of them? Set them free? I state it as my firm conviction as a conscientious man, that if set free the majority of the slaves would themselves entreat to be retained in bondage. *They* are all well aware that the condition of the free negro is far more deplorable than that of the slave. Looked upon as an inferior race, not respected, not trusted, not employed, (for white hired labour is found far preferable) their situation is as bad as you could well conceive of. Your own State has recently demonstrated an unwillingness to place them on a social equality with the white citizens, and much more in our State is that impracticable. With this as with all other deep-rooted evils, the cure must be gradual. From motives of humanity, as well as from other considerations, their removal cannot be immediate.—Measures are being taken for removing, by annual installments, the free negroes at present in the State. It is hoped that under the operation of this, and in the course of a few years, of a *post nati* law, that in less than 20 years Virginia will be fast progressing to the condition of a Free State. And if the North does not meddle, there is but little doubt that eventually the whole of the Southern portion of the Confederacy will take similar steps. We only say to our Northern brethren, *Let us alone.* We willingly consume your manufactures, we willingly conduce to your interest in what way we can; but in this matter your interests are not involved except so far as that it is best for you to keep your hands off. It is the interest of the slaves that you meddle not; it is best for us; it is best for you, and on that depends the safety and continuance of our Union. Of the question of Slavery in California, we say to the people of the North, What inducement is there for you to raise a question of dispute on this? Does any reasonable man doubt that if it should chance that a *few* slaves should be carried there, (which is by no means probable) that the whole of that territory will eventually be erected into Free States. Thanks to God! the curse of Slavery is gradually leaving our Union. A large majority in the Southern States would be freed from it *now* if it were practicable. But wait for us. The age is progressive, and free institutions *must* finally prevail. Human legislation is necessary where our innate moral sense does not plainly point the right course to pursue. But in cases where the laws of Nature, left to take their own way, would lead us in the right path, an immense deal of harm is done by attempting to strengthen them by Legislative enactment. In the case before us, the impulse of conscience, that inevitable exponent of God's law, is amply sufficient. But such is human nature that, though we will be led, we *will not be driven.* The North has placed itself in the offensive position of trampling on our rights, where our rights are not only harmless but invested with an importance entirely imaginary; that is, we would not choose to exercise them if we were let alone. Let the matter take its own course. Cultivate a feeling of brotherly love, and my word for it, things will come right much sooner than if you intermeddle. As much as our great statesmen have demonstrated the blessings of Union, it is needless to say anything about it. The horrors which would inevitably follow a separation of these States, *no* pen, much less mine, could pretend to describe. ence and wide-spread circulation of your paper in the North. As a Member of the Congress by which the destines of this mighty Republic will probably be determined, I call upon you to stand by the Union. And if, on the pages of history, its downfall should ever be recorded (which may God in his mercy forfend!) let not your name be enrolled among those who sanctioned it by their votes! In the name of humanity I speak. Talk of humanity to the slaves, where all your attempts to better their condition inevitably make it worse; and think of the horrors of a civil war into which political aspirants seem desirous to hurry us. Does not Humanity call for action here? And in those days when men shall look back upon the events which brought about such a mighty result, and shall carefully canvass every light circumstance connected with it, *then* shall the names of those whose exertions were the cause of it stand conspicuous

"Damned to everlasting fame."

Now are the times coming to try men's souls. And if the wisdom of our statesmen should keep the crisis from being felt by the people at large, *they* themselves must bear the brunt of it. *Now* is the time to throw off the shackles of the partisan and man of section, and take a bold stand for the *Union.* Men's eyes are so blinded that such a course would perhaps at first be condemned by the unthinking. But so much the greater will be the meed of glory when the crisis is over. Let the North show such a concilliating spirit, declare it on the floor of Congress, and not uselessly bring such a dangerous subject under discussion, and Virginia at least will prove herself what she has ever been, the firmest pillar in the mighty structure of the *Union.*

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.—We do not often publish letters like the foregoing, but this affords us an opportunity to correct some misapprehensions, and we embrace it. Let our friend and all who think with him be assured, then, that

1. *The Union is in no danger of dissolution.* He may rest easy on that head. Should he live long enough, he will hear louder talk of dissolution at least fifty times than he now hears, and still the Union will endure. Let him just set it down as a fixed fact that the Union is not near its end, and sleep as soundly as ever.—But

2. *The dissolution of the Union would not be the dreadful affair he represents it.* It would be a very absurd act on the part of the seceding party, and would work great inconvenience and embarrassment especially to the people of the great Mississippi Valley. In time, however, matters would accommodate themselves to the now political arrangements and we should grow as many bushels of corn to the acre and get as many yards of cloth from a hundred pounds of wool as we now do. The Union is an excellent thing—quite too advantageous to be broken up in an age so utilitarian as this—but it is possible to exaggerate even *its* blessings.

3. *There is no general disposition in the North to crowd the South on the subject of Slavery.* On the contrary, the spirit largely preponderating throughout the Free States, is one of accommodation and concession—to the utmost limit allowed by conscience and by duty. All we ask is that Slavery shall not be extended by virtue of the exertions and sacrifices of our whole People. If our friend intelligently believes what he says about Slavery being a curse where it now exists, he cannot expect—he ought not to desire—that the North should consent to its extension under our National Flag, by virtue of victories sealed with American blood. We are for the Wilmot or Jefferson Proviso because that has been fairly tried and proved effectual in arresting the spread of Slavery. We *know* what virtue there is in it. We don't know about securing the same result in some other way. It *may* answer—we don't say it will not—but we greatly prefer the sure thing if it be in our power to apply it. If not, we must do the best we can.

4. *We can't be sure that the South do not wish to extend Slavery.* We are quite aware that a majority of the Southern People have no strong desire to do so; but the active, leading, powerful few *do* seem to wish it, and the rest give way to them.—Practically, therefore, the South appears to range itself on the side of Slavery extension.

Our friend says 'a few slaves' may get into the New Territories. Well; 'a few slaves' got into Missouri; we failed to enforce the Proviso there, and she is now a Slave State. 'A few more of the same sort' got into Texas, and Texas is now in the same category. We don't want to be caught so again. Only convince us that *there is no danger* of

Slavery getting into the New Territories if there be no express legal barrier interposed, and we will gladly surrender the Proviso. We stand for Free Soil, Free Labour, *Free* Men. If we can secure these by action to which the South can take no offence, we shall be very glad of it; and we stand ready to abandon the Proviso whenever we shall feel *assured* that there is no need of it.

5. Whether the South will or won't abolish Slavery if left to itself, is a question not susceptible of a positive solution. Why need we discuss it? If the South feels aggrieved by Northern repugnance to Slavery or Northern efforts for its abolition, let her just turn the tables upon us. We tolerate many vices and wrongs which we ought to correct; and we hereby invite the South to pay us in kind for all our 'intermeddling' with her institutions. Let her form societies, raise funds, employ missionaries, and send them lecturing throughout the North, showing up our deficiencies and exhorting us to amend them. We don't treat our own abject and unfortunate classes so well as we ought; let the South take their case in hand and make us feel how far we come short of our duty. We will give security that her lecturers shall be respectfully heard and courteously treated, and that our reformation shall not at any rate be retarded by her 'intermeddling.' Why not try it?

6. As to negroes being so much better off in Slavery than in Freedom, we don't believe the first word of it, and beg leave to call Sambo himself as our witness in the premises. This is clearly a case wherein negro testimony is admissible. We challenge our Southern brethren to a fair trial on this point. We will guarantee that all the free negroes in the land shall have a fair chance to run South and be adopted into Slavery if he will see that all the slaves have a like chance to escape into Freedom, and let us see which way the rush is. We are quite anxious to make the trial.

7. If we shall ever dissolve the Union, why talk of civil war? The North will not secede, and if the South should ever want to, we go for giving her 'the largest liberty.' Then what are we to fight about?

—Finally, let us all keep cool and avoid exciting ourselves with false notions and extraneous issues. Half that our friend urges has no proper bearing on the matter in controversy. We are not asking the South to abolish her Slavery—much less seeking to abolish it ourselves. We only insist, politically, that Slavery shall not be extended over Free Soil. Whatever 'intermeddling' there is in the case is on the side of the South, and all that is urged on this head should be addressed rather to her than to us. And we have entire confidence that whenever she fully *believes* Slavery the curse she sometimes admits it, she will very soon find a way to abolish it, and will then see that the bugbears of Emancipation and Devastation which now appall her ought not to frighten even children. [*Ed. Tribune.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY MARCH 1, 1849.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton.*

[CONCLUDED.]

"It was the policy of the Government," says Mr. Charles Buxton, in explanation of the repeatedly baffled efforts of his father and his coadjutors during the years 1832, and '33, "to avoid bringing the Anti-Slavery question to a crisis; to keep it at arm's length; and by preventing it from coming to the test of a division, to escape committing themselves to either one or the other of the opposing parties." The West India party was strong in Parliament. The Abolitionists, in the late general election, had been considerably increased by an accession to their number of members pledged to support the movement for the abolition of Slavery. The Government was weak, and could ill afford to offend either party, and endeavoured therefore to please both; the first, by throwing obstacles in the way of the movement for Emancipation; the second, by professing that there was no other motive for that opposition than a wish to establish a "progressive improvement in the character of the Slave population, by the temperate enforcement of ameliorating measures." In accordance with this principle the order in Council was issued in fing measures," which served, however, no other purpose than to exasperate the planters, and deceive the slaves. For it was in the year 1832 that another insurrection broke out in Jamaica, and the declaration of all those who were shot for being concerned in it was, "that they had been told by white people for a long time past that they were to be free at Christmas, and that the Freedom order had actually come out from England, but had been withheld." This insurrection Mr. Buxton held to be but the foreshadowing of a disastrous and deadly breach between the planters and their slaves, and which could only be forestalled by immediate action on the part of the Government The appointment of a Committee by the House of Lords early in the session of 1832 he considered as merely a pretext for delay, and though he gladly appeared before it, and laid open the stores of his accumulated knowledge upon the subject, and thus made it, in some measure, an instrument for good, he also insisted upon making a motion in the House, from which Government vainly endeavoured to dissuade him. An exceedingly interesting and lively letter from his eldest daughter explains so clearly the whole course and the result of the debate which followed his motion, that we copy it in full:

"The debate [May 24th.] has at length actually taken place, and great cause have we to be satisfied with the result, now that we are safe on the other side of it. It is difficult exactly to recall the feelings and opinions of the preceding days; it was however the usual course—every possible assault from friend and foe to *make* my father put off his motion, and when that was found hopeless, to induce him to soften it down, or not to divide the House. Dr. Lushington was of opinion that it would endanger the cause to persevere, and difference of opinion with him is worse than anything to my father. The Government were also most pressing, and the terms they offered extremely tempting. On Tuesday morning my father and Dr. Lushington were a long time with Lord Althorp and Lord Howick, both of whom used every argument and almost every entreaty. I believe he did not reply much at the time, but was cruelly beset, and acutely alive to the pain of refusing them, and, as they said, of embarrassing all their measures, and giving their enemies a handle at this tottering moment. They said, besides, that the public were so occupied with Reform, that it was only wasting the strength of the cause; nobody would listen, and the effect would be wholly lost, whereas, if he would wait a little, they would all go with him; their hearts were in fact with him, and all would be smooth, if he would have a little reason and patience. On his return, he related all this to us, and proposed writing a letter to Lord Althorp, previous to the final interview, which was to take place the next day. So a letter was written, which I will copy.

To Lord Althorp.

"MAY 22, 1832.

"MY LORD:—I am fearful lest I should have failed in conveying to you at least in their force, the impressions under which I am acting. The fact is, from the study I have given to the subject, I am so deeply sensible of the practical, as well as the inherent horrors of the system, and of the persecution and cruelties which are daily going on, that it is *impossible* for me to let this opportunity pass over, without at least bearing my testimony against them. Allow me moreover to remind you, that, however insignificant in myself, I am the representative, on this question, of no mean body in this country, who would be, to an extent of which I believe you have no idea, disappointed and chagrined at the suspension of the question. But further, (and this is a consideration far more really influential on my conduct,) I cannot but feel myself the representative of a body who cannot speak for themselves, and for whom I must act, without other guide than my own conscience. There is nothing, whatever may be the result of my motion, which I should look back upon with so much regret, and I may add, shame, as the having, in any measure or degree, slighted their interest for my own convenience, or that of my friends in England, more particularly as those friends are powerful and important, while those for whom I am acting, however feebly, are helpless and oppressed. In short, I believe it to be most for their advantage that I should bring on my motion, and therefore I am necessitated to say candidly, that I cannot either postpone it, or substitute for it anything short of abolition. To say, I do *most reluctantly* anything that can possibly inconvenience the present Ministry, is needless and useless.

"I am, my dear Lord, with great esteem and respect:
"Yours most faithfully,
"T. F. BUXTON."

"It was early on the Wednesday morning this letter was sent, and in the afternoon he went again to Lord Althorp, who immediately gave him to understand that he saw it was of no use attempting to turn him, and that he gave him every credit for his motive. Accordingly they resolved on their several courses, the motion, and the amendment. Thursday morning, May 24th, came.—My father and I went out on horseback directly after breakfast, and a memorable ride we had. He began by saying that he had stood so far, but that *divide he could not*. He said I could not conceive the pain of it, that almost numberless ties and interests were concerned, that his friends would be driven to vote against him, and thus their seats would be endangered. But then his mind turned to the sufferings of the missionaries and of the slaves, and he said, after all he must weigh the *real* amount of suffering, and not think only of that which came under his sight; and that if he were in the West Indies, he should feel that the advocate in England ought to go straight on, and despise those considerations. In short, by degrees, his mind was made up. When we got near the House every minute we met somebody or other, who just hastily rode up to us. "Come on to-night?" "Yes." "Positively?" "Positively;" and with a blank countenance, the inquirer turned his horse's head, and rode away. I do not know how many times this occurred. In St. James's Park we met Mr. Spring Rice, whom he told, to my great satisfaction, that he positively *would* divide. Next Sir Augustus Dalrymple came up to us, and, after the usual queries, said, "Well, I tell you frankly I mean to make an attack upon you to night." "On what point?" "You said some time ago, that the planters were opposed to religious instruction." "I did, and will maintain it." We came home, and dined at three. It is difficult to recall, and perhaps impossible to convey to you the interest and excitement of the moment. Catherine Hoare, and I, and the little boys, went down with him. We were in the ventilator by 4 o'clock; our places were therefore good. For a long time we missed my father, and found afterwards, he had been sent for by Lord Althorp for a further discussion, in which, however, he did not yield. Many Anti-Slavery petitions were presented; the great West Indian petition by Lord Chandos. At length, about 6, "Mr. Fowell Buxton" was called: he presented two petitions, one from the Archbishop of Tuam, and his clergy, and the other from the Delegates of the Dissenters in and near London. The order of the day was then called, and he moved his resolution, which was for a Committee 'to consider and report upon the best means of abolishing the state of Slavery throughout the British dominions, with a due regard to the safety of all parties concerned.' He spoke very well indeed, and they listened to him far better than last year; in short, the subject obviously carried much greater weight with it, and the effect of the speech last year on population was manifest, as indeed it has been ever since. He touched on that subject again, and alluded to his statement, which he was happy to see in the hands of honourable members, (he had sent it round to each, a day or two before, signed by himself; and they were many of them looking at it, while he was speaking.) I was very much pleased to see it in their hands. I will not, however, attempt to go over their debate, or to relate their speeches. Mr. Macaulay's was strikingly eloquent. Lord Howick's capital, and giving such a testimony to the speech of last year as delighted me. He said, it had indeed startled him, and that he had examined into all the facts, which he found undeniable; he evidently spoke under the effect of the impression it had made upon him. Lord Althorp proposed the amendment of adding "conformably to the resolutions of 1823." Then came the trial: they (privately) besought my father to give way, and not to press them to a division. "They hated," they said, 'dividing against him, when their hearts were all for him; it was merely a nominal difference, why should he split hairs? he was sure to be beaten, where was the use of bringing them all into difficulty, and making them vote against him?" He told us that he thought he had a hundred applications of this kind, in the course of the evening; in short, nearly every friend he had in the House came to him, and by all considerations of reason and friendship, besought him to give way. Mr. Evans was almost the only person who took the other side. I watched my father with indescribable anxiety; seeing the members, one after the other, come and sit down by him, and judging but too well from their gestures, what their errand was. One of them went to him four times, and at last sent up a note to him with these words, "immovable as ever?" To my uncle Hoare, who was under the gallery, they went repeatedly, but with no success, for he would only send him a message to persevere. My uncle described to me one gentleman, not a member, who was near him, under the gallery, as having been in a high agitation all the evening, exclaiming, "Oh he won't stand! Oh, he'll yield! I'd give him a hundred pounds, I'd give him a thousand pounds, to have him divide! Noble! noble!. What a noble fellow he is!" according to the various changes in the aspect of things. Among others, Mr. H—— came across to try his eloquence; "Now don't be so obstinate; just put in this one word, 'interest;' it makes no real difference, and then all will be easy. You will only alienate the Government. * * * Now," said he, "I'll just tell Lord Althorp you have consented." My father replied, "I don't think I exaggerate when I say, I would rather your head were off, and mine too; I am sure I had rather yours were off!" What a trial it was. He said continual tooth drawing, the whole evening. At length he rose to reply, and very touchingly alluded to the effort he had to make, but said, he was bound in conscience to do it; and that he *would* divide the House. Accordingly the question was put. The Speaker said, "I think the noes have it." Never shall I forget the tone in which his solitary voice replied, "No, sir." "The noes must go forth," said the Speaker, and all the House appeared to troop out. Those within were counted, and amounted to ninety. This was a minority far beyond our expectations, and from fifty upwards, my heart beat higher at every number. I went round to the other side of the ventilator to see them coming in. How my heart fell, as they reached 88, 89, 90, 91, and the string still not at an end; and it went on to 136. So Lord Althorp's amendment was carried. At 2 o'clock in the morning it was over, and for the first time my father came up to us in the ventilator. I soon saw that it was almost too sore a subject to touch upon; he was so wounded at having vexed all his friends. Mr. —— would not speak to him after it was over, so angry was he; and for days after when my father came home, he used to mention, with real pain, somebody or other who would not return his bow. On Friday, Dr. Lushington came here and cheered him, saying, "Well, that minority was a great victory;" and this does seem to be the case; but we hardly know how to forgive some of those who ought to have swelled its numbers. My father, however, cannot bear to hear them blamed. M—— was wishing that some of those who professed so much, and voted against him, might be turned out. "Oh!" he said, "I would not hurt a hair of their heads." He feels it a great cause for thankfulness and encouragement, to have a committee sitting to consider the best means of getting rid of Slavery. The formation of this committee was the next business, and very difficult indeed it was. My father went many times to Lord Althorp about it. Once Lord Althorp said, "The fact is, Buxton, the West Indians object, not only to your friends, but to everybody who has any constituents; they won't have anybody out of schedule A." Lord Howick's name being mentioned, Lord Althorp said, "Why he's one of yourselves," but added, "we, the Government, the middle party, must be represented in the committee." My father said, "Now, laying aside the caution of power, and all the pledges you have given, do you mean to say you don't agree with me in your heart?" He did not deny it."

In this debate, as Mr. Buxton afterwards said, "the cause made a seven-league stride." One sentence of his speech may be given:—

"How is the Government prepared to act in case of a general insurrection of the negroes? War is to be lamented anywhere, and under any circumstances: but a war against a people struggling for their freedom and their right, would be the falsest position in which it is possible for England to be placed. And does the noble lord think that the people out of doors will be content to see their resources exhausted, for the purpose of crushing the inalienable rights of mankind?

"I will refer the House to the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson was himself a slave-owner, and full of the prejudices of slave-owners; yet he left this memorable memorial to his country: "I do, indeed, tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep forever. A revolution is among possible events; the Almighty has no attribute which would side with us in such a struggle."

"This is the point that weighs most heavily with us: The Almighty has no attribute that will side with us in such a struggle. A war with an overwhelming physical force,—a war with a climate fatal to the European constitution,—a war, in which the heart of the people of England would lean toward the enemy; it is hazarding all these terrible evils; but all are light and trivial, compared with the conviction I feel, that in such a warfare it is not possible to ask. nor can we expect, the countenance of Heaven. I assure the House I have been discharging a most painful duty, and my endeavour has been to perform it without offence to any one."

In accordance with the resolution, a Committee was appointed, and its investigations were prosecuted from the 1st of June to the 11th of August. The evidence before it and the Committee of the House of Lords were published, "and the general impression was that they had established two points: First that Slavery was an evil for which there was no remedy but extirpation; Secondly that its extirpation would be *safe*." Such was the state of the question at the adjournment of Parliament. Of the important influence of the debate, and his own feeling in relation to it, Mr. Buxton thus writes to his daughter in September 1832:

"I saw T. B. Macaulay yesterday: he told me one thing, which has much occupied my mind ever since, and which furnished the subject matter of my meditations as I rode by the light of the stars to Upton last night. He said, "You know, how entirely everybody disapproved of your course in your motion, and thought you very wrong, very hard-heated, and very headstrong; but two or three days after the debate, Lord Althorp said to me, "*That division of Buxton's has settled the Slavery question.* If he can get ninety to vote with him when he is wrong, and when most of those really interested in the subject vote against him, he can command a *majority when he is right. The question is settled*: the Government see it, and they will take it up." So reported Macaulay; and he added, 'Sir James Graham told me yesterday, that the Government meet in a week; they will then divide themselves into committees on the three or four leading questions, for the purpose of settling them. Slavery is one." Now it is not so much the fact that Government are going to take into their own hands the question for the purpose of settling it, which occupied my mind, as the consideration of the mode by which we were led to that division, to which such important consequences attach. It certainly was not the wisdom of my coadjutors, for with the exception of my own family, Sam. Hoare, Evans, Johnston, and one or two others, they were all directly at variance with me. Brougham, when he heard of my obstinacy, said, "Is the man mad? does he mean to act without means? He *must* give way." It really was not the wisdom of my counsellors, and as certainly, it was not either my own wisdom or resolution. I felt, it is true, clear that I was right, but I did not find it easy to explain the reason why I was so clear.

"Then as to the resolution, I found it very difficult to stand firm. I felt far more distressed than I ought to have done, at acting in hostility to my friends. I was unusually weak on that point. Then, what led to the division? If ever there was a subject which occupied our prayers, it was this. Do you remember how we desired that God would give me His Spirit in that emergency, that He would rise up as the champion of the oppressed? How we quoted the promise, "He that lacketh wisdom, let him ask it of the Lord, and it shall be given him?" And how I kept open that passage in the Old Testament, in which it is said (2 Chron. chap. xx. 12.), "We have no might against this great company that cometh against us: neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon thee:" the Spirit of the Lord replying, "Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude, for the battle is not yours, but God's." If you want to see the passage, open my Bible, it will turn of itself to the place. I sincerely believe that prayer was the cause of that division; and I am confirmed in this, by knowing that we by no means calculated on the effect which that division seems likely to produce. The course we took appeared to be right, and we followed it blindly."

At the opening of the next session Mr. Buxton was deeply disappointed and chagrined that no notice of the question of Emancipation was taken in the King's Speech, as it was understood that the Government meant to make it one of the prominent measures of the session. He immediately gave notice of a motion of the 19th of March, 1833 for the Abolition of Slavery, and asked of ministers what were their intentions in relation to it. The reply was that they intended to undertake the question, and introduce a 'safe and satisfactory measure.' "This delights me," he says in a hurried note to Miss Gurney, written at the moment, in the House, "and now I scorn those critics, who maintain that the children of Ham ought to be flogged by all good Christians." But he soon saw reason to doubt that the Government would redeem its pledge and though desirous to leave the question in its hands, for only as a cabinet measure did he believe that Emancipation could be secured this session, and he dreaded the danger of another year's delay, yet he was watchful of the course of events, and determined that if Government failed, it should not be for want of urging. The 19th of March approached, and the difficulties of the crisis are thus set forth in a letter from his daughter:

"Ever since the notice was given on the first night of the session," writes his daughter, "my father has been engaged in an anxious negotiation with the ministers, who have been endeavouring to offer terms just sufficiently favourable to prevent him from adopting active measures; but on Saturday the 16th of March, all hope appeared to be at an end; no day had been mentioned by the Government, and he felt that he must now make up his mind without delay. He accordingly addressed a letter to Lord Althorp telling him so in very decided terms, and took it himself to Downing street He found that a council was sitting, and the porter refused to take in his letter; just then the Duke of Richmond went in, and kindly undertook to deliver it; but my father soon received a message, that they could give no answer.

"On Monday the 18th he went down to the House, at twelve o'clock, armed with numerous petitions (one from Glasgow signed by 31,000 people), and took the opportunity of saying, that he should certainly bring on his motion the next day, "as he had no alternative left him;" afterwards he received intelligence that the Government at five o'clock, seated himself behind Lord Althorp, and said, "So I hear these are your tactics." Lord Althorp replied, "that they really were obliged to do so, they were in such a strait." My father gave him to understand that he should resist to the utmost, and was determined to push the matter through. After a good deal of argument and hesitation, Lord Althorp said, "Well, if *you* will not yield, *we* must;" and accordingly agreed to name a day for a ministerial motion on the subject. All this passed in private: my father still feeling uneasy, as no public declaration had been made, would not leave the House (which was then in committee on the Irish Coercion Bill). At three o'clock in the morning Lord Althorp got up, and moved an adjournment of the debate till the following day. The effect of this would have been to deprive him of his day, he therefore went across to the opposite side of the table, and said aloud, that he would not give up the day unless he had satisfaction from the Government respecting the abolition of Slavery; no reply was made, but the threatened adjournment was not persisted in. Accordingly, the next evening he rose to bring forward his motion. Lord Althorp then requested him to postpone it to a future time; but he replied that he was compelled to resist the request, unless upon two conditions: first, that the Government would prepare a plan for the complete and immediate abolition of Slavery; and secondly, that *they would fix a day for introducing that measure to the House.*"

"I see clearly," he said, "what will be the fate of this great question, if I postpone it without some definite assurance that it will be brought before the consideration of the House. It will be postponed for the session * * * and then, there is much reason to fear, it will be settled elsewhere in the most disastrous manner. Therefore, however obstinate I may appear, and however painful it may be for me to resist the request, before made to me in private, and now in public by the noble Lord, I am compelled to proceed at once with the motion, unless His Majesty's Government can fix a day on which they will be prepared to explain their plans with respect to colonial Slavery."

"Lord Althorp, upon this, named the 23d of April, and then my father formally told the Government that he gave up the question into their hands, upon the security of the declaration made to him that the proposed measure was to be safe and satisfactory."

"I have no more to do with Slavery now than any other gentleman," said Mr. Buxton, satisfied with this assurance of the Government. But he was soon aroused from this agreeable contemplation of a great work accomplished by a rumour that Lord Howick, in whom he had the most implicit confidence, was about to resign, because the Government would not concur in his scheme for immediate abolition, and that the plan was to substitute for that measure one of gradual emancipation coupled with an onerous obligation of self-purchase for the slaves. A meeting of a Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society was immediately called, and it was determined at once, as a last resort, to arouse the people and compel the Government to action. It was done most effectually.—Lecturers were sent out, meetings held all over the kingdom; and one especially in Exeter Hall, of 330 delegates convinced the Government that the question could no longer be trifled with. Mr. Buxton's house is described as half-filled with petitions which flowed in from all parts of the country; five hundred coming from Devonshire, three hundred from West Essex; and the whole number of petitioners was estimated to be nearly a million and a half. From the Exeter Hall meeting a delegation proceeded in a body to Downing-street, with an address, and was received by Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley. "This my Lord," said Mr. Buxton, after the reading of the address, addressing the minister, "is the deputy from Cork, this is the one from Belfast; these are from Edinburg, those from Dundee; this gentleman is from Aberdeen, that from Carmathen, these are the delegates from Bristol, those from Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, those from York and Leeds, &c." The whole strength of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the people had never before been so fully displayed, and the result was a further pledge from Government that the motion would not be postponed.

The appointed day, the 14th of May, at length arrived. "Mr. Buxton," writes his son, "afterwards told his daughter, that just as they were going off to the House on that memorable evening—perhaps the most memorable of his life—he had reached his study door, when he went back to have one look at his Bible. It opened on the fifty eighth chapter of Isaiah, and he read these two verses. 'If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul: then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as noon day: and the Lord shall guide thee continually," &c. 'The remembrance of them preserved me,' he said, 'from being in the least anxious the whole evening; I felt so sure the promise would be fulfilled to me, The Lord shall guide thee continually.'"

The presentation of an immense petition from the Women of Great Britain was the first act of the proceedings of the evening. Mr. Buxton quotes from the Mirror of Parliament the following description of the scene:

"Mr. Fowell Buxton on presenting the petition from the females of Great Britain, said, 'Ten days ago this petition was not prepared; it was not even in contemplation; but within that short period, without any solicitation whatever, it has received from all parts of the country through which it has been circulated, no less than 187,000 signatures. I wish to consult you, sir, as to the manner in which I am to get it to the table, for it is so heavy that I really am unable to carry it.'"

"The Speaker. 'If the hon. gentleman cannot bring up the petition himself, he must procure the assistance of some other members of the House.'

"Three hon. members then went out with Mr. Buxton, and by the united exertions of the four, the petition was brought in and placed upon the table, (as we are told elsewhere) amidst the laughter and cheers of the House."

Mr. Stanley, the Colonial Secretary opened the debate. He necessarily spoke the speech as it had been pronounced to him, and to the country, by the Abolitionists for the ten preceeding years. He used their facts; he adduced their arguments; he pictured the atrocity of Slavery as they had pictured it a thousand times before, and asserted what they had so long declared, that it was for the mother-country to move in this matter if the system were ever to be abolished. "The voice" he said, "of friendly warning—the voice of authority has been found to be in vain. Not a single step has been taken by any one of the Colonial Legislatures, with a view to the extinction of Negro Slavery." He continued:

"We are told that the slaves, at the present moment, are unfitted for the enjoyment of the blessings of Freedom; that they have no domestic ties, and no habits of industry, that they do not provide for their wants, and would not provide for their families; that they have no forethought no discretion, and that, in short, they would be totally ruined, were you to throw them loose upon the world. . . . Sir, it is Slavery which debars them from acquiring industrious habits, it is Slavery which prevents them from exercising the virtues of foresight and prudence; it is Slavery which leaves them nothing to labour for; it is Slavery which takes away from them all the incentives to industrious labour, which debars them from all the ties of social intercourse; and then you declare them to be ignorant of the duties of social life,—that they have no foresight, no industry, no prudence, no discretion, and therefore they must continue in a state of Slavery."

The character of the whole speech, as sketched by the biographer, was well described by Mr. Buxton, who quoted in reference to it the lines of Cowper to Mrs. Courtenay:

"My numbers that evening she sung,
And gave them a grace so divine,
As only her musical tongue
Could infuse into numbers of mine.
The longer I heard, I esteemed
The work of my fancy the more,
And e'en to myself never seemed
So tuneful a poet before."

But the conclusions to which the Secretary at length came, in behalf of the Government, were by no means so satisfactory as the course of reasoning and illustration by which he reached them. He proposed:

"That Slavery be abolished throughout the British dominions.

"But that the present slaves should be apprenticed for a certain period of time to their former masters during three fourths of a day, the master in return supplying them with food and clothing. "Part of the slave's value would be secured in this way to his former owner. The remainder was to be paid by England in the shape of a loan of 15,000,000*l.* sterling (afterward changed to a gift of twenty millions.)

"All children under six years old were to be at once set completely free. Stipendiary magistrates were to be appointed to carry out these measures, and provision was to be made for the religious and moral training of the negro population.

"The negro was to be liable to corporal punishment, if he refused to give his due portion of labour."

The discussion of the resolutions, of which these were the principal features, was postponed till the 30th of May, but from that time till the 12th of June they occupied the attention of the House. Objectionable as the compensation to the planters, and apprenticeship for the negro, were to the Anti-Slavery party at large, and no less to Mr. Buxton and the other leaders in the House, they felt it to be of the last importance that the Government and Parliament should become fully committed to the measure of Emancipation. "For," said Mr. Buxton, were an amendment on this plan to be moved and carried, and we were in consequence to lose this measure altogether, an insurrection would inevitably take place, and I confess I cannot with firmness contemplate so horrible a termination of Slavery." At an earlier period in the Anti-Slavery agitation to the question of one of his friends who asked him, "What shall I say when I hear people abusing you?" he replied, "say! say *that*," snapping his fingers. "You good folk think too much of your good name. Do right, and *right will be done you.*" So now, unmoved by the entreaties of friends, and undismayed by the earnest protestations of those who contended that a bill with features so objectionable should be opposed at the outset, (a vote of censure was passed on him by a Committee in the country,) he steadily persevered in the course which he believed was dictated by prudence, and demanded by the best interests of the slaves. The bill was allowed to pass undisputed till it came under Committee, and he then moved an amendment "for limiting it to the shortest period necessary for establishing the system of free labour, and suggested the term of one year;" "for" he said, "if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how any one can suppose that we shall be able to obtain the labour of the negroes, is to me unintelligible." The amendment, however, was lost, though only by a majority of seven; but that the motion and the consequent vote was not without weight was shown the next day, when Mr. Stanley, in deference to the wishes of so large a minority reduced the period of apprenticeship from twelve to seven years.

The next important point was that of compensation. This Mr. Buxton was urged to oppose, but he determined to act as might, at the moment, seem most judicious. On this point, his daughter, from whose spirited letters we have already so largely quoted, says:

"Mr. Stanley declares that if any point is carried against him regarding the grant, he will throw up the bill; whether or not to run this risk, is now the very point of the matter, and numerous are the dilemmas the question involves. We had quite a levee this morning; Messrs Pringle, Cropper, Sturge, Moorsom, and George Stephen, all came in at breakfast time, and my father made them a speech, telling them that on such a difficult and critical point, he would never enter the House with his hands tied. They wanted him to promise to fight the money battle, and to defeat Mr. Stanley if possible. He will not promise to do any such thing, and says he must be at full liberty to act according to the discretion of the moment. They went away to deliberate upon it, and it is now time to go down to the House again. He told me he trusted but in one thing—'The Lord shall guide thy steps.'"

He voted for the 20,000,000*l* compensation to the planters, but moved that one half of that sum only should be paid till after the termination of the apprenticeship. The amendment was lost. On the 4th of August he thus writes to a friend:

"I must tell you how comfortable and happy I feel to day. Last night at twelve o'clock we got through the Committee; the bill, therefore, for the abolition of Slavery, must pass this session, and may Providence make it a blessing to millions. We were defeated upon my proposal to hold back half the money till the apprenticeship was over. Stanley declared that if we 'carried that proposal, he would throw up the bill. I thought it right, however, to persevere, but I must confess that I should have felt uneasy, if we had obtained a victory. The newspapers give but a wretched report of the debate, which was one of the best we ever had.

"Upon the whole I went to bed well pleased. To morrow night we have the report, and on Monday the third reading. How grand is it to be so near the top of the mountain, which it has taken ten years to climb,—it makes me quite cheery."

On the 7th of August, 1833, the Bill for the Total Abolition of Colonial Slavery, passed the House of Commons. "The bill," writes Miss Buxton to Mr. Macaulay, "has already passed the House two or three hours; would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer, that my father might have taken back to him *fulfilled*, the task he gave him ten years ago." This great pioneer, in the Anti-Slavery cause in Great Britain had died a week before, on the 29th of July, exclaiming almost with his last breath, "Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of Slavery!"

On the 8th of August Mr. Buxton writes:

"I have been intensely engaged in winding up, or watching the winding up, of this, the main object of my life. The bill passed its third reading last night, and I cannot but feel deeply relieved and thankful, great as are its faults. May a blessing be with it! The fullest toleration we have, I trust, obtained. And now the thing is done; and all the duty respecting it, which remains for us, is to do our utmost to render both the people of England and the negroes satisfied with it, and to labour for the religious instruction of the latter."

The bill was hurried to the House of Lords. Buxton and others, whose work in the lower House was so happily finished, watched with deep interest and anxiety the arduous and unsupported struggle of Lord Suffield over each clause of the bill as it passed through the Committee of the whole House. It was at length passed.

"On Tuesday the 20th," writes Miss Buxton, "was the third reading in the House of Lords. Dr. Lushington came in afterwards unexpectedly, to dinner; he was just setting off for the holydays, and seemed very much pleased with the events of the session, which he discussed in the most lively manner. Lord Althorp said to him in the House, a few days ago, 'Well! you and Buxton have wielded a power too great for any individuals in this House. I hope we shall never see such another instance. Among other incidents, it was mentioned that one day, in the House of Lords, Lord Grey went up to my father to speak to him about yielding the removal question. The Duke of Wellington said, 'I see what the influence is, under which you are; and if that individual is to have more power than Lords and Commons both, we may as well give up the bill.' All the Commons' ministers who were standing there, were highly entertained."

"So now we are nearly at the end of our labours,' wrote Buxton to Zachary Macaulay, a few days previous to the final passage of the bill. "I must confess I am, if not quite satisfied, exceedingly well-pleased. I look back to the letter which you and I wrote to Lord Bathurst in 1823, containing our demands, twelve in number. Bad as the bill is, it accomplishes these and a great deal more. Among the rest, the day is fixed after which Slavery shall not be!" Intense indeed must have been the satisfaction of these men at the triumphant result of the labour of so many years! "Surely you have reason to rejoice," says the same letter. "My sober and deliberate opinion is, that you have done more towards this consummation than any other man. For myself, I take pleasure in acknowledging that you have been my tutor all the way through, and that I could have done nothing without you."

The Bill for the Abolition of British Slavery in the West Indies received the royal assent on the 28th of August, 1833. Mr. Buxton sent a copy of it to Thomas Clarkson with the following letter:

"NORTHREPP'S HALL, Sept. 22, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I cannot forward to you the enclosed Act without a line to inquire how you are, and to say how sincerely I trust you are really cheered and happy in the contemplation of the *Abolition of Slavery!* I am sure you ought to be, for you have greatly contributed towards it. I always think your pamphlet, which first gave us the *true tone*, was of most essential importance to our cause. Such as it is, it is done; and I do more and more think we ought to very grateful and satisfied. It is a mighty experiment at best; but we must trust that it will answer to the full, and be as it were the pulling away of the corner-stone of Slavery, throughout the world.

"I should be delighted to hear *your* opinion of the measures.

"Yours very faithfully,
"T. F. BUXTON."

To which Mr. Clarkson replied:

"PLAYFORD HALL, Sept. 25, 1833.

"DEAR MR. BUXTON,

"I received your letter the day before yesterday, and I can truly say in answer to it, that I am immeasurably, more than I can express, thankful to God, for that rich display of his mercy, which at length in his own good time, he has vouchsafed to manifest to the long lost children of the African race. That the bill is not entirely what I wished, I have no objection to confess; but yet I am thankful, inexpressibly thankful for it.

I tremble to think what might have been the consequences, if you had refused the proposals of Government. What would another administration have done had it been left to them? We may judge of this by the speeches of the Duke of Wellington last session. * * *

"Yours most truly,
T. CLARKSON."

Next to the charge of being possessed of only a single idea, the accusation most often brought against Abolitionists has been, that they have retarded the progress of Emancipation, and made more galling the fetters of the slave. If Emancipation at all hazards be the one idea of the Abolitionists, this is the one idea of their opponents. As far as the comparison goes, the advantage is clearly on the side of the former.

From the frequency and bitterness with which this reproach is urged, one might suppose that an amelioration of the slave's condition was the object which the whole community had most at heart. As that fine pagan emulation of the trophies of Miltiades would not let the young Athenian sleep, so a purer and more Christian solicitude for those in bonds would seem to make uneasy the pillows of all classes of society, and especially of the politicians. In all ages of the world the Mob have displayed the keenest anxiety for the preservation of an undefiled religion, and it was accordingly to be expected that they should not be indifferent while the kindred cause of philanthrophy was in danger of receiving detriment. It is doubtless not without some of that exultation which springs from conscientious self-devotion, that thousands of Christian philosophers and patriots deposited their ballots for a slaveholder, sacrificing their natural desire to express immediately their harassing Anti-Slavery zeal to the yet stronger desire of seeing the slave emancipated at an earlier period by means of prudent concession. But martyrologies are not the pleasantest kind of reading, and we gladly turn from the contemplation of such sufferings. Let us rather consider whether they are necessary, and whether the cause of emancipation has been in reality so greatly put back.

In the first place, has there really been a change of public opinion for the worse, either at the North or the South, since the *Liberator* came into existence eighteen years ago? We select this period as the point of departure, not because we have forgotten Woolman, Benezet, and Lundy, but because these stand in the same relation to the Anti-Slavery movement in America that Dante, the Lollards, and Huss hold in respect to Luther.

That Anti-Slavery was regarded with less repugnance by many persons at that time than now, we are ready to admit. The naked question, presented to any mind not deadened by custom or blinded by interest, was very certain to receive an affirmative answer. But there are many intellects so constituted that an object loses its interest in proportion as it grows less novel. There are many which weary of a long and barren march without apparent results. There are many which estimate the common enthusiasm by their own, and are disheartened by meeting with coldness and sluggishness. Moreover at the time when the movement began, Slavery was regarded as a distant and detached object. The immense spread of its roots, and how they had forced themselves into every crevice in the foundations of Church and State, was not even suspected. Men were ready enough to condemn an alien sin which concerned only their neighbours, but were soon satisfied that what they were themselves interested in could be no sin. The Politician, the Merchant, the Clergyman, each in turn found that it would not *do* to be an Abolitionist, and, as these were naturally unwilling that anybody should be better than themselves, and as the large majority of the community was either influenced by, or dependent upon them, it is no hard matter to come at the result. When we add to all this the wide-spread influence of that common self-deception which leads men to believe that they are acting with prudence and wisdom, when they are really held back by coldness and timidity of nature, or by regard for what they suppose to be their interest, we shall see with how much Anti-Slavery had to contend.

Any one who has read Clarkson's history of the Abolition of the Slave Trade cannot fail to be struck with the similiarity of the objections brought against the advocates of that measure in England, and those which are constantly thrown in the way of American Anti-Slavery. Prominent among these was this same one—that they were retarding the accomplishment of their object by their intemperate zeal. But the result showed that success drew nearer in proportion as they grew more daring in their reproaches and sharper in their denunciations.

So far from there being any truth in this charge of having retarded emancipation, the simple fact undoubtedly is that were the Abolitionists now to go back to the position from which they started, they would find themselves less fanatical than a very respectable minority of the people. The public follows them step by step, occupying the positions they have successively fortified and quitted, and it is necessary that they should keep in advance in order that people may not be shocked by waking up and finding themselves Abolitionists. The Garrison of 1831 might be a popular man and a member of Congress now. But it is part of the order of Providence that there should be always Garrisons as well as popular men and members of Congress.

It would seem at first sight that the recent election of a slaveholder was a sign of retrogression. That the Whigs stultified themselves, and gave the lie to the professions of years in nominating Taylor, there can be no doubt. That the temptation of political preferment made many renegades is equally certain, though there is the consolation of reflecting that a man who could become a renegade was never worth having. But never at any former Presidential election was the Slavery Question so prominent. Indeed, it was the only question. The great quarrel which the Whigs had with Cass and Van Buren was, not that they were opposed to Bank and Tariff, but that they could not be trusted on the Slavery Question. The very majority which secured Taylor's election professed to vote for him reluctantly, and as a choice between two evils. We are not now concerned with the absurdity of voting for a slaveholder to restrain Slavery, but only with the ostensible motives which influenced a very large number of voters. The motives which men pretend for their conduct show clearly what public sentiment is. So widely spread was the Anti-Slavery feeling, and so exactly did the Buffalo Convention harmonize with the public sympathies, that even wary politicians were for a moment staggered. Had the election taken place in August, the result would have been widely different. Three months gave time for enthusiasm to subside, for old associations to regain their hold, and for the whole disorganized machinery of party to be repaired and set in motion.

So much for the retarding effect of the Anti-Slavery agitation at the North. At the South, if violent opposition has been excited, it has been a mere offset to equal violence on the other side. It has arisen from the fact that the defenders of Slavery instinctively felt that their weakness was in their own camp. How could what is in its own nature the most unreasonable of institutions, be reasonably defended? How could that which is founded on force and fraud be gently and honestly supported?—How could the vilest of existing tyrannies find countenance from any but the vilest arguments? But it is said that the condition of the slave has grown worse, and that the laws against him have been made more severe. If this were true, the lapse of eighteen years, and the necessity of other injustices which one injustice entails would be enough to account for it. But it is not true. The efforts of Abolitionists have drawn so much attention towards Slavery, and their sentiments have found so much sympathy even in some of the Slave States themselves, that every evil, cruelty, and misery belonging to the system has become painfully conspicuous. The slaveholder in the remotest rice-swamps of Florida feels that the walls have eyes and ears.

The fanaticism of the Abolitionists has retarded emancipation just in the same way that Luther retarded the Reformation. Considering the immense odds against which they have had to struggle, they have brought about a revolution in a wonderfully short space of time. It does not matter that the advocates of emancipation in the Slave States shrink from accepting the abolition doctrine in all its length and breadth. However, they may deny all sympathy and connection with those whom it is the fashion falsely to call advocates of violent measures, it is no less plain that their strength is derived from those very persons. It is these fanatics who have put them in connection with the moral sentiment of the whole world, and who make their opponents feel that behind them lie encamped the great moving forces which have given every forward impulse to man. Along the slender wire of Northern Anti-Slavery the Southern Abolitionist receives the inspiring influx of the religious sentiment, the love of Freedom, and the humanity of entire Christendom. Slavery has nothing behind it but the sheer precipice, nothing before it but the the inevitable retributive Doom.

J. R. L.

OHIO SENATOR—SALMON P. CHASE.—We are not often moved to forget our doctrine of 'no union with Slaveholders,' so far as to remember to care who may be chosen to take his place among our rulers at Washington, for the cause of Anti-Slavery—the cause of the true interests of this country North and South—has nothing to hope from such men as are generally sent to the Capitol. There are, however, a few noble exceptions, and we rejoice to hear that their number will be increased at the next session of Congress by the addition of at least one—Salmon P Chase of Ohio. The Legislature of that State has honoured itself and him by choosing him a United States Senator for six years next ensuing. The joint efforts of the Democrats and Free Soilers have placed him in this position, and it argues well for the Democretic party of that State that its representatives could assist in choosing one who for many years has fully identified himself with the Abolitionists, and who on the subject of Slavery, so far as it comes within the purview of the Constitution, will be uncompromising, fearless and efficient. We congratulate the Anti-Slavery party of the country that Hangman Foote has another subject, and John P. Hale a second for the motions for which he is to hang when he goes to Mississippi.

The election of Mr. Chase is a subject for congratulation not only because he is so good a man, but also because he takes the place of one who has proved himself unfit to be trusted with the interests of freemen. The present Senator, Allen, has put himself up at auction, after the manner of Northern doe-faces, for a Southern market, time and again, but has never yet been bid upon, and is now returned to his constituents as damaged goods. Instances of unfortunate ventures of this sort in the political trade are becoming frequent, and will doubtless soon have a wholesome influence on the Washington 'Change.' Indiana has given Mr. Hannegan leave to stay at home; Illinois gives Judge Breese the run of her prairies, and Pennsylvania no longer requires the services of Cameron in the Senate; and General Cass is only permitted to return to Washington with express instructions to vote precisely in opposition to his avowed principles. If the places of those who are to stay at home were to be supplied by such men as Mr. Chase we should look to them, that the United States Senate should represent, in some degree, the Northern States of the Union, as well as the interests of Southern Slave-traders.

MASSACHUSETTS AND SOUTH CAROLINA.—Governor Briggs, of Massachusetts, in sending to the Senate of that State the Resolutions of the South Carolina Legislature on the Wilmot Proviso, accompanied them with the following message. His excellency is evidently not frightened this time.

To the Honourable Senate:

I herewith communicate for the use of the Senate, the resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina on the subject of applying the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory acquired by Mexico.

One of those resolutions declares, in decorous but plain terms, that the time for discussing this subject, on the par of the Slave States, has passed, and that South Carolina is prepared to co-operate with her sister States in resisting the application of the principles of the Proviso to such territory at every hazard.

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* A few copies of the American edition of The Memoir of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton are for sale at 61 John st. and at this office.

With undoubting confidence that Slavery may be excluded from any territory belonging to the United States, where it does not now exist, without the least infringement upon the constitutional rights of the Slave States, Massachusetts has expressed her purpose of opposing such extension as inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, the views and intentions of its framers, and the rights of humanity. It is to be hoped that the National Legislature will promptly extend the principles of that Proviso, which are none other than the great principles of the ordinance of 1787, over all the Territories of the Union, and leave those who may choose to resist such a law, to judge of their own course.

GEO. N. BRIGGS.

Council Chamber, February 17, 1849.

CONGRESS—THE TERRITORIES.—In another column we copy all that we have room for of the debates in Congress during the past week, upon the bill for the Government of the Territories. Repeated attempts, as will be seen, were made to amend the bill as originally offered in the Senate, and finally that of Mr. Walker's, of Wisconsin, prevailed, and the bill was passed. Should such a bill become a law, the triumph of the slaveholders is complete. It provides that all revenue, and custom-house laws, laws respecting the public lands, and trade and intercourse with the Indians, of the United States shall be applied to the "Territory west of the Rio del Norte," and then provides that "the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe and establish all proper and useful rules and regulations (in conformity with the Constitution of the United States) for the enforcement of said laws in said Territory, and for the preservation of order and tranquility, and for the establishment of justice therein, and from time to time to modify or change the said rules and regulations in such manner as may seem to him discreet and proper, and may prescribe and establish temporarily such divisions, districts, ports, offices and arrangements for the execution of said laws, and appoint and commission such officers as may be necessary to administer such laws in said Territory for such term or terms as he may prescribe, whose authority shall continue until otherwise provided by Congress; said officers to receive such compensation as the President may prescribe, not exceeding double the compensation heretofore paid to similar officers of the United States or its Territories, for like services; and to enable the same to be done, the sum of "two" hundred thousand dollars be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The question of Slavery is dodged completely, so far as the Senate is concerned, and the power of extending or prohibiting it left in the hands of the Presidents—Polk, or Tayor. Does anybody believe that either of them would not protect the measures which the slaveholders will be sure to adopt to establish Slavery in the Territories?

The only hope is in the House. At the last accounts, before we go to press, by a direct vote, a bill was passed, including the Wilmot Proviso. This places the two houses in antagonistsic posiitions. One or the other must yield, or the Territory go without a government.

☞ A communication from Wm. H. Seward was laid before the Legislature of this State on the 20th inst. accepting the appointment of United States Senator.

AUGUSTUS F. BOYLE, late one of the editors of the *Anglo Sacsun* has been appointed Professor of Phonography in the new Free Academy in this city, where the new art of spelling and writing is to be among the branches taught.

HON. JOHN M. CLAYTON, United States Senator from Delaware has received and accepted the appointment of Secretary of State under General Taylor. There are rumours of various other appointments to the Cabinet, but nothing positive has as yet transpired.

☞ We acknowledge, with many thanks, the reception of the following named public documents from several members of Congress:

From Hon. JOHN P. HALE, The President's Annual Message, with its accompanying documents.

From Hon. E. B. HOLMES a copy of his speech, in the House, on Slavery, in August last.

From Hon W. F. LAWRENCE, the report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, on the Rail Road across the Isthmus:

And from Hon. H. S. CONGER a copy of the same document.

Notes on New Books.

THE ARCHITECT, No. 6. *Published by Dewitt and Davenport, Tribune Buildings.*

Mr. Ranlett has given in no previous design a plan for a house more imposing in outward appearance, or more convenient in its internal structure, than the larger of the two in this number of the Architect. He is attempting to adopt the highly ornamented, but somewhat clumsy, Norman style to a modern dwelling, and so far as one can judge from plans and views on paper his success is certain. His first plate is of a large and somewhat costly house, but admirable for its arrangement; and the second is a small, but exceedingly pretty and compact cottage, in which narrow limits are made the most of, and great convenience secured with small expense.

A portion of the letter-press of this number is devoted to a brief essay upon the subject of house-painting, which is marked by the sound sense and good taste which always characterises the architect. In addition to the excellent hints upon this subject, the editor gives directions for mixing paints of various colours, which are valuable to owners as well as builders of houses.

TWELVE LECTURES ON COMPARATIVE EMBRYOLOGY, DELIVERED BEFORE THE LOWELL INSTITUTE, BOSTON, DEC AND JAN. 1848—9, BY LOUIS AGASSIZ, PROFESSOR, &c. &c *Dewitt and Davenport.*

"The point of the Lectures," says the Preface to this work, "is to demonstrate that a natural method of classifying the animal kingdom may be attained by a comparison of the changes which are passed through by different animals in the course of their developement from the egg to the perfect state; the changes they undergo being considered as a scale to appreciate the relative position ol the series."

The science of Embryology is, among us, a new one, and probably no other naturalist among us is so well qualified to impart a knowledge of it as Professor Agassiz. He has embodied in this course of lectures all the researches that have been made upon the subject abroad, and added many observations of his own made since his residence in this country. His clear style and the illustrative diagrams render the work one of great value, not only to the naturalist, but to the general reader, who wishes to keep himself somewhat informed of the discoveries, and necessary changes in the theories of natural science.

These lectures were reported phonographically by Dr. Stone for a Boston paper, and have since, we understand, been compared with the original manuscript. Their correctness, therefore, may be relied on. They are published in pamphlet form, and at a cheap rate, but upon good paper, and in clear type. The plates, without which it would sometimes be difficult to apprehend the lecturer, are very numerous and well executed.

THE WATER-CURE MANUAL. BY JOEL SHOW, M. D. *New York: Fowlers & Wells.*

The only works upon Water-cure, by any American author, have been written, we believe, by Dr. Shew, and to his books is undoubtedly owing, in a great measure, the popularity which the system has already attained in this country. There are in the different States, at least, ten Water-cure establishments, which count their patients annually by thousands, and the number of those who rely upon the system in their own families may be reckoned in tens of thousands. If, as we think, Dr. Shew's earlier books have done much to extend a knowledge, and induce a trial of this method of practice, his Manual, inasmuch as a larger audience awaits it, and as it is a more extended work than any that have preceeded it, should have a proportionably wider influence.

Dr. Shew apologises in his Preface for his style, but pledges himself for the correctness of his facts. The former has, at least, the merit of directness, and is overburthened with no redundencies of ornament or reflection which the subject does not warrant; and where he disagrees in the manner of treatment with other practitioners, he is careful to state in what the difference consists, while he modestly maintains his own opinions. The book is divided into two parts. The first is prefaced by a brief account of Priessnitz, [Preistnitz?] with an account of some of the most remarkable cures performed by him, but is mainly devoted to careful and minute directions as to the method of the Water-cure, with general rules for its application. The second part directs the application for particular diseases. The two combined are so full that the work may be used as a Water-cure family physician by careful people of good judgment; and it seems to be designed by the author to convey so much information as to do away, except in extreme cases, with the necessity of any other adviser.

Dr. Shew is an enthusiast in his profession, and it cannot be doubted that he has in this, as he has had in preceeding publications, the health and happiness of his fellow-creatures at heart. The work is one of unquestionable ability, reliable for its facts of experience, and well worth reading even by those who are skeptical as to the truth of the system, but wish to inform themselves of its philosophy and practice.

THE EDINBURG REVIEW FOR JANUARY. *L. Scott & Co.'s reprint.*

We have scarcely had time to look into this No. of the Edinburgh—the first of a new volume—but run little risk of contradiction in pronouncing it filled with instructive papers An article on the Punjaub is the first we turned to to learn something of the progress and the philosophy of British annexation; and though we are not prone to any great admiration of the fact that the sun never sets on the British flag, we wish for the honour of the country which we are ashamed to call ours, that the United States had as good a reason to offer for her first act of conquest as England has for the worst act of annexation that she ever committed.—In this matter of the Punjaub certainly, taking this account to be the correct one, and it cannot altogether have falsified history, no more blame attaches to England than belongs to all war. Indeed if we may rely altogether upon this writer even the Peace Society might uphold it, as a defensive war—The diplomacy of Louis XIV and William III sheds some light upon an important era in European history; The Saxons in England is a favourable review of the new work of J. M. Kemble, who has added a new lustre to a name already famous; The French Benedictines; Progress of Mechanical Inventions; Relief of Irish Distress; Lord Melbourne; and a review of a new novel—Charles Vernon—by Lieut. Col. Senior, which, says the reviewer, "describes the state of society in Jamaica and Venezuela when Slavery was in its unmitigated vigour in the one, and revolutionary war was raging in the other," make up the contents of this No.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. *L. Scott & Co.'s Re-publication.* The first article in the January No. of the London Quarterly will probably attract more attention than any of the others among our 'go-ahead' people. It is a minute and exceedingly interesting, and amusing account of the management of the great London and North Western Railway, and one which might be read with profit by the directors and managers of roads in this country. The method, the discipline among subordinates, the nice and careful division of labour, the stupendous workshops, the neat villages, the immense trade, and vast expenditure upon this great iron highway of England, have no parraliel upon any other rail-road in the world, and could not probably be successfully imitated by any other people. The article is a striking proof of the superiority of the English in all mechanical arts and mercantile enterprise.—The review of Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, is a very full account of the remarkable discoveries made upon what Mr. Layard supposes to be a site of that ancient city, and possesses an interest which cannot be confined to the mere antiquarian. The book has not been republished in this country, and our first knowledge of it comes from this review.—The admirers of *Jane Eyre*, if not pleased, will certainly be amused at a comparison between that tale and the admirable novel of Vanity Fair, by Thackeray; and the good people whose sense of propriety was so severely shocked at the characters of Jane and Rochester, will rejoice that so powerful an ally has come to their aid as the London Quarterly. We entirely agree with the reviewer in his admiration of Vanity Fair, but confess to small sympathy with the rigid righteousness which can forgive Becky Sharp her acknowledged want of heart and conscience, because she is blessed with a good temper, her unscrupulous means to gain her ends, because she is careful never to outrage the conventionalities of "good society," and even considers her as rather entitled to an admiration for her great tact and talent, which winks her manifold sins out of sight, because the jade in her devilish wickedness is always self-possessed, and uniformly impudent; but which visits poor Jane with indignant denunciations for her non-conformity to the ways of the world, which can neither forget nor forgive her occasional *gaucheries* of manner, which holds her plain speaking as the unpardonable sin in a young lady, and counts for nothing in comparison her heroism and depth of character; and which denounces Rochester as a brute, not so much for the sins of his youth, as that he told them to the woman he meant to marry, and that he speaks in terms which, we have no doubt, would be dreadfully shocking to all the Miss Sedleys of Vanity Fair. The reviewer reads Thackeray to little purpose if he so loves a graceful little devil like Becky, who glides through the world doing nothing but mischief, better than a strong woman of sound heart and clear head, who has always the grace of a noble nature, though she may sometimes want a grace of manner. Upon the important question, who wrote Jane Eyre? the reviewer sheds no light, but mentions an amusing rumour that it has been attributed to a governess in Mr. Thackeray's family, who was the original of his Becky Sharp, and who revenged herself by making him sit for his portrait as Rochester. If there were any truth in the story, we should say decidedly that the governess came off second best.—Baron Wessenberg's Souvenirs and Pensées contains some new and amusing gossip of the days of the French Empire. The number contains also other papers upon Austria and Germany; Italian Intervention, intensely toryish; Guizot; Public Instruction, and the Castlereagh Papers.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. *L. Scott & Co.* The February No. contains a capital chapter of the Caxtons; Caucasus and the Cossacks in an interesting sketch of the history of a brave free people, determined to keep free; American Thoughts on European Revolution, a letter from the American Correspondent 'Ernest,' will disappoint those who have laughed over his more amusing letters; The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art; Dalmatia and Montenegro, and Beatties Life of Campbell are all attractive articles; The Carlists in Catalonia gives an importance to the present movements in Spain which is not generally considered as belonging to them; The Statistical accounts of Scotland, and The English Universities and their Reforms, will be sure to find a class of interested readers.

Domestic Correspondence.

Democratic Government.

To President Green, of Utica, N. Y.

SIR:— have read in the Model Worker, a report of the proceedings of the Liberty State Convention, held in Utica, on the 31st of January last. I intended to have been present, and was only prevented from attending by a severe cold which would have rendered me incapable of participating in its deliberations. Its discussions, however, were of such a character, and the result of them in one important particular, so different from what it should have been, that some expression of my own views of the matter, though they be those of a comparative obscure and undistinguished individual, seems to me necessary in the prosecution of my own peculiar work.

Of the series of Resolutions presented to the Convention, the first,—extending the right of suffrage in the election of "civil rulers" to all persons (of mature age) without regard to sex, colour, or character,—was lost by a vote of 13 to 22. It should have passed, unanimously. With some slight alteration of phraseology, to be sure. Such as the substitution of "executive officers" for "civil rulers." For man wants no *ruler*, civil or uncivil, outside of himself. "He that ruleth his spirit, is greater than him that taketh a city." Self-rule is the ultimate of human government. Every established government that interferes with it, impiously usurps the prerogatives of the Almighty. The Supreme Ruler has established certain laws of human growth and developement, demanding the exercise of *all* the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of every human being, *in his or her own person.* To these laws each individual is under obligation to conform. *Non-conformity* thereto is the only treason of which it is possible any of the subjects of Divine Government can be guilty. And laws, while they impose duties, confer rights, which *to be* rights, are, and of necessity must be, inalienable, as long as the duties are imperative. To hire, or permit another to do my labour, or thinking, or praying, is the worst species of infidelity, and the prohibition of the performance of these duties by any one else, constitutes me the most despotic of tyrants.

The reasons, as assigned by yourself for the rejection of the Resolution, so far as reported, are altogether insufficient to satisfy me of the propriety thereof. *Character* has nothing to do with rights or duties. These remain the same, whether the character already induced be "good, bad, or indifferent." *That* is the result of the influence of surrounding circumstances upon the individual—the action of the organization, which action may be either prolonged and increased by the continued operation of the causes which have generated it, altogether suspended by the withdrawal of said causes, or completely reversed by the application of other causes of an opposite nature, continuing, or destroying the old, or bestowing *another* character, better or worse, as the case may be. *Those* originate in the individual and constitute the organization. When the circumstances of men have been adapted to their organization, then will they "in *character* come into harmony with themselves in *structure*," and not until then; and everything claiming the name of Government that hinders such adaptation, or that prevents any man from exerting all his powers in every department which his structure has rendered him capable of, *that*, and that alone is THE "conspiracy to be execrated and abolished." Self, *of* itself, never can conflict with the demands of rectitude, although the exertion of self in a wrong direction, induced by the *authoritative* interference of civil rulers, may, and often does.

The end of Government is not the authoritative, but it is the *harmonious* maintenance of Justice. This end is surely attained only when each member of society is protected in the enjoyment of his Natural Rights by the entire force of all the members, and when each, uniting with all, obeys still but himself, and remains as free as before. Protection the *object*, and Democracy, or universal coöperation, without the loss of anybody's distinctive individuality, the *means*. Thus, as each man governs himself, all are governed, although not one is duly labelled and billetted "civil ruler." A Government of the whole, properly constituted, therefore, can rightfully possess no powers, but such as are advisory, elective and executive, and the exercise of each and all of these powers, every citizen may, in his turn, after maturity, according to the extent of his endowments, rightfully claim. For example; the members of this Liberty State Convention are presumed to have been more or less occupied with the *work* of that Reform for the furtherance of which they had convened; each member was, alike, interested in the business by which each believed the objects of the desired Reform could be more speedily and successfully accomplished; and each member should, alike, in so far as varieties of disposition, of ability, and of means, would admit, have participated in the transaction of that business. How it was precisely, its published proceedings do not inform me. Perhaps every member was permitted the exercise of his advisory and elective rights in the preparation and adoption of its resolutions,—although the appointment of a business committee with power to cut off business matter from every other source, if such power was conferred by the appointment, does not look much like it,—and doubtless every member had a vote in the election of its officers? If so, you have only to suppose the Convention a State, and its members Legislators, to bring before you the *form* of a Model Government of Model Workers, (in embryo) actually realising the "broadest principles of Democracy, and the right, irrespective of sex, character, or colour," of every individual to govern himself or herself in the adoption of laws, and in the selection of executive officers; and to suggest to you the propriety of asking yourself the questions more thoughtfully than ever before you have brought them home to head and heart, viz:—"Whether the upbuilding, and the nourishing, and the strengthening of it, *ought* to have been voted unjust or unwise, inexpedient or impracticable, by just such a Government?"—and "Whether, after all, for aught we know, or *can* know, it be not the only wise, just, expedient, and practicable mode of Government God himself could have adopted, consistently with the liberty of his subjects, as the best means of effecting his purpose in the promotion of their happiness?" However you may dispose of the matter, though, one thing is certain, to wit, that *this* Democracy, extending the law-making power to all of whom obedience to the laws is required, does *not* "urge us to bestow our confidence and veneration on the ground of mere adventitious circumstances or accident, such as being born of certain parents, or having received a majority of votes of those who here and there approach the ballo box;" but that on the contrary, it gives to character, "*wherever found*.," to the Liberty State Convention, assembled at Utica, as to the Congress of the United States assembled at Washington a fair and open arena, which is all that it requires, and which it does not now possess, under any authoritative, "respect for person" representative system of legislation. It alone developes that "authority which is *only* the natural and inevitable influence of superior wisdom and power." But, then, the sceptre is hidden from view. "Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace." In bringing men right, if they have strayed from the path of rectitude, it aims to convince their understandings, thereby to win their *assent* to the prescribed change of conduct. Human nature is such, that although men may be persuaded, they *cant be driven* right. Their moral sense, the impulse of conscience, educated and controlled by enlightened intellect, if left alone, must plainly point out the right course to be pursued, (for it would be difficult to find a *use* for these agencies on any other presumption); and their reformation is to be accomplished by the *uneducation* and the undoing of the work of *ignorance* Liberty *Governments* have no other work to do. Liberty *Conventions* can alone aid in this work by providing "ways and means" of promoting the silent, but certain *growth* of human INTELLEECT. And the extension of the suffrage, or rather of the law-making power, without distinction of sex, or colour, or character, or degrees of sanity, even, (for all men and women are more or less insane, and the *most* insane frequently nearest right,) is now the most effectual way or means whereby this "one thing needful" may be facilitated.

As a "free agent," so called, man can't help "exerting himself either rightly or wrongly," as operated upon by circumstances. For right exertion of himself, he is indebted to circumstances agreeing with his nature; while the wrong exertion thereof, must be caused by circumstances opposed thereto. In the *necessities* of my brother his rights begin. Down in my heart there is a certain something, which responds to his cries for assistance, begetting my duties. And *vice versa.* For all men are equal, if not in degree, yet assuredly in *kind* of human construction, or they would not be men. So that the reality of the existence of right and duty does not depend on the settlement of the everlasting question about the "free agency" of men, unnecessarily raised at the Convention. We are called upon only to determine *the modes according to which things act—the necessary action of necessary existence*, and to *conform* thereto, in order to make the "Lord's Prayer a practicability," and to establish the Kingdom of God upon the earth. God's will is *not* done on earth as it *is* done in Heaven, because self-appointed administrators of *His* justice have authoritatively released men from their allegiance to the "Eternal Throne," and substituted therefor submission to the "powers that be." When all "in every sphere shall truly aim to obey the laws of that sphere," as indicated by the Constitution of Man and of the Universe, we may, perhaps, justify the time consumed in the solution of problems so difficult to solve as those connected with the subject of "free agency." As, for instance, "whether, if such and such had been just so, this or that which was not done, might not have been accomplished?" But till that time has arrived, we are bound to improve our leisure moments in the investigation of subjects of greater utility.

WILLIAM WEST.

New York city, Feb. 22, 1849.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

He asks a puzzling question—Attitude of Parliament toward Ireland—Its excellent reason therefore—The present state of Ireland—The Correspondent's opinion of the Irish agitators—Dissatisfaction with the poor law—The Boston Bazaar—Emigration from Ireland, and character of the Emigrants.

DUBLIN, February 9th, 1849.

MY DEAR GAY:—What can the reason be that the Standard comes so irregularly? Until two days ago, I did not receive one for ever so long. I am not singular in having this complaint to make. Nearly every subscriber I know of says the same. Some dont get a paper for weeks, others for months together. You tell me they are regularly mailed, and that the fault must be on our side of the water; I think it is brother Jonathan's. The Liberator and the North Star seldom or never fail; but there must be some pro-slavery body in New York who cannot bear the sight of an Anti-Slavery Standard. To my own knowledge the Standard comes irregularly to Leeds, Cork, and Dublin. Could you not have our copies mailed from Boston, or would not some kind Christian there undertake this trouble on our behalf or for our enlightment? I wish you would try and manage this for us; for I dont know much sounder doctrine or better reading than is to be found in a good Anti-Slavery newspaper, and I dont like that my friends and myself should miss so much of it.

Parliament has met, and one of their first acts is that they are about to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The only reason approaching to a good reason, that has been assigned by ministers for the continued suspension of our constitutional liberties, is that Lord Clarendon thinks it desirable. Nobody has a better right to know than Lord Clarendon. He has had a troublesome time of it with us between keeping us from starving in one part of the island, and cutting one another's throats in another. Whatever the Repealers and the Confederates may say there has never, since the world began, been an instance of a Government acting under similar provocation, or, under any such circumstances, acting with the same leniency and humanity, or with such manifest anxiety to make the extraordinary powers, with which they were entrusted under extraordinary circumstances, as little felt as possible. In fact considering the loud roar of foaming nonsense with which we were bewildered a few months ago, and the outspoken determination of thousands of our subdued countrymen to give the British no quarter, to send it packing along with all who might happen to adhere to it—considering all these things, I say it is quite wonderful how few of the conspirators were interfered with, how large a portion of those who were imprisoned were very soon liberated on bail, how very few were brought to trial, and that with the single exception of John Mitchell, I do not know of one who has yet begun to undergo the sentences that have been pronounced. I mean nobody whose only crime was his eagerness to dethrone the Queen, and follow the lead of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and Company.

The actual state of things in Ireland, at present is, that we are in the enjoyment of great peace and quietness. We have no repeal meetings; no confederation meetings; no expeditions to try whether the moon is made of green cheese. A more lying, impracticable, unteachable, unprincipled crew than the majority of mere Irish agitators, lay or clerical, I do not believe is to be found on earth. They do not know how to appreciate constitutional liberty, they do not care for any measure for the protection of national prosperity. For my part I think there is a much greater chance of good time coming under the dictatorship of Lord Clarendon, than if we had Smith O'Brien King of Munster, or a Parliament of O Connells with John MacHale and the Priests to pull the wires. I cannot find words to express how low my opinion is of these swaggering empty people who have been keeping this wretched country in hot water, without any indication in their own private conduct of a desire to practice what they preach.

In the country parts there is great dissatisfaction with the operation of the poor law. The landlords and the cultivators of the land are obliged to support the enormous mass of paupers, who have nothing, and can get no employment. This number is so vast, and so wretched, that nobody who has not been in Ireland can form any idea of their ignorance, their wretchedness, their rags, their poverty, their degradation, or their helplessness. How to cure this state of things I do not know. It would be almost as easy to make the desert blossom as the rose, or to expect justice and humanity from slaveholders, or honesty from hardened hack politicians, as to produce plenty, contentment, civilization, and enlightenment, in many parts of Ireland. As has been said a hundred times, England has herself to thank for all this disgraceful state of things in her "sister" kingdom. It is all her own doing. She played the tyrant in Ireland for hundreds of years—she trampled on the people—plundered them again and again—deprived them of education—discouraged their manufactures—persecuted them for their religion, and imbruted them in every way—and at this present writing the surprise is very general amongst the humane, generous, enlightened, benevolent and philanthropic people of Great Britain that we are so very badly cared for, and that it is so difficult all of a sudden to put to rights the evils induced by the outrageous tyranny of ages.

I am glad the last Boston Bazaar went off so well. Not so well, to be sure, as last year, but considering the extraordinarily unpropitious weather, there is nothing to discourage the friends of the cause. I am come of a family of shopkeepers, and I well know that large allowance must be made for the power of rain, sleet, and slushy snow in keeping even zealous purchasers at home. But I believe our Boston friends by no means depend entirely on their sales at that particular fair, but that they have many other chances for disposing of their wares at different times in various parts of Massachusetts. I think it desirable this should be generally known, as many contributors on this side of the salt water suppose that whatever remains unsold in Boston must lie over till next year. The account of the Fair in the Standard is so remarkably lucid, cheerful and hopeful, that it cannot fail to do good if scattered far and wide amongst the friends of the cause.

The emigration from this country to yours was, I believe, never so great in the winter time of the year. Vast numbers are going in an unceasing stream, chiefly of that class who are just able to raise the money to land them on your shores with a few dollars in their pockets. Anything is better for the poor than remaining in Ireland. It is easy to talk about industry and economy; but I know there are thousands who are as industrious and economical as any one need to be, and more so than I would like to be, who cannot make ends meet, so intense is the competition for employment. In America they will be able to work for themselves instead of for their landlords, and whatever else may happen them if they exercise common discretion, they cannot want for enough to eat. They may find it their interest and their pleasure to work hard, but they are not likely to die in the poor-house.

Yours, truly,

RICHARD D. WEBB.

General Intelligence.

Congressional.

IN THE SENATE on the 19th.

Mr. YULEE submitted a series of resolutions passed by the Legislature of his State on the subject of Slavery and Southern wrongs, and moved that the paper be received and printed.

In presenting the resolutions, Mr. YULEE remarked that though they were not addressed to Congress by the Legislature of his State, he had deemed it proper to present them, in order to show the views which prevailed upon this important subject in his section of the country. For his own part, he was ready to proceed to extreme measures for redressing the wrongs which had been inflicted upon the South—even to the dissolution of the Union.

Mr. WESCOTT was called up by the remarks of his colleague He approved fully the sentiments expressed in the resolution, but he was determined to adhere to the last to the Constitution. That immortal instrument was the sheet anchor of our safety. The security of the South and the North alike depended upon its preservation. He was not ready to rush headlong to the dissolution of this great confederacy so dearly purchased by the blood of our sires. He was not ready to encounter the horrors of the civil war that would ensue upon the dissolution of this Union. He proceeded to express his views upon the subject at great length. He gave a history of the wrongs which the South had suffered, and drew the conclusion that the legislation of the country had been partial to the North.

The debate having concluded, the resolutions of the Senator from Florida were again read and ordered to be printed.

ON THE SAME DAY in the House, after some unimportant business (we copy the *Herald's* report.)

The House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole on the State of the Union, (Mr. Caball in the chair) and resumed the consideration of the bill to provide for carrying into execution, in part, the twelfth article of the treaty with Mexico, concluded at Guadolupe Hidalgo. It provides for payment of the instalment and interest, which will fall due on the 30th of May, 1849, $3,720,000; and for the second instalment, with interest, $3,540,000, payable a year thereafter.

[On Saturday, after our report was sent off, several gentlemen addressed the Committe on the subject of Slavery.]

Mr. DONNELL, of North Carolina, this morning objected to the bills prepared to admit California as a State into the Union, and said that there would be no difficulty in settling the agitating question, if the Wilmot Proviso should be stricken out of the territorial bills which had been reported. The reason why it cannot be settled, if any, is, because there is not enough of conservatism and independence on the part of members North and South. How can the question be settled, unless gentlemen meet on some common ground? He complained of the remarks of several gentleman, and referred to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) who, he said, charged the Speaker with having formed the committees to suit the South. That officer had acted with dignity, and impartialtity, and this placed him high above such base and calumnious imputations.

Mr. GIDDINGS—Will the gentleman permit me to explain?

Mr. DONNELL—I ask for no explanations.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I imputed no such motives.

Mr. DONNELL—You did not charge him in words with base motive; but you did assert that he put a majority of Northern men, who were dough-faces, on the committees.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I only ask to set myself right.

Mr. DONNELL said that he could not spare the time. He expressed himself as opposed to the Southern Convention, recently held in this city; he did not take part in it, because if the principles of the address were carried out, it would have a tendency to distract the Union. He contended, in conclusion, that the protocol did, in effect, alter the understanding of the treaty.

After some further debate, and the rejection of one or two amendments.

Mr. SCHENCK offered a substitute for the bill—That the President be authorized and instructed to enter into negotiation with Mexico for the surrender to that republic of New Mexico and Upper California or so much thereof as lies west of the Rio Grande, and of any title thereto acquired by the fifth article oft he treaty; and that the President require a release of the latter States from the payment of the instalment of twelve millions of dollars, with interest.

The CHAIRMAN decided the amendment to be out of order; and the question being taken on an appeal, his decision was reversed.

Mr. SCHENCK said that his amendment was no claptrap.—He had been opposed to the acquisition of additional territory from the beginning of the aggrandizement. He thought that the acquisition would bring dishonour, and curse us in a thousand other ways. His opinion was not altered because there was a gold region. Without irreverence, he repeated that by permission of the Providence of Heaven this was a sort of retributive justice for our having stolen the country, and thereby creating a feverish excitement, and making our whole nation gamblers. If Mexico was willing to take back the territory; if she would release us from the payment of the twe ve millions, let us adopt the proposition, and get rid of the evils which will result.

Mr. ROOT moved to amend the amendment by striking out all about the "Bay of San Francisco." He said that this was either right or wrong.

Mr. GENTRY characterized the amendment as the most absurd and preposterous proposition that could be presented.—Did Mexico want the territories, and would we abandon our citizens who have gone there, to the tender mercies of the Mexicans?

The question was taken, and Mr. Root's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. C. BROWN offered an amendment—Provided that, in addition to the same, the Government of Mexico pay $100-000,000 as just compensation for the expense of the war.—After making a few remarks, he withdrew it.

Mr. BOTTS offered an amendment, which was rejected, and then, by a vote of—ayes 86, noes 81—the substitute of Mr. Schenck, (to give back the territory to Mexico) was agreed to.

The committee then rose, and under the operation of the previous question the substitute was rejected—yeas 10, (Messrs. Ashmun, Cranston, Crowell, Fisher, Giddings, Henry, Palfrey, Schenck, Stephens and Toombs)—nays 194.

Mr. TURNER moved to reconsider the vote by which the substitute was rejected. He wished merely to say that the Whigs had charged the Democrats with stealing New Mexic and California. The rule at common law is, that the receiver is as bad as the thief. As the Whigs have refused to give back stolen goods, their mouths should be stopped.

The vote was then taken on the passage of the original bill, and it was passed. Yeas, 188, nays 8, (viz: Messrs, Ashmun, Cranston, Crowell, Giddings, Henry, Schenck, Stephens and Toombs)

The House adjourned.

In the Senate on the 20th.

Mr. HALE, of New Hampshire, submitted a large number of abolition petitions, which were laid on the table under the rule.

In the House

Mr. MCKAY of North Carolina, reported a substitute to the bill for the coinage of gold dollars, also, a substitute to the bill authorizing the coinage of double eagles, which after some debate was read a third time and passed.

The House spent the remainder of the session upon miscellaneous bills of no special interest, refusing repeatedly to go into committee of the whole because the majority of the members were received to work away at the calendar until they reached the bill respecting slave traffic in the District of Columbia heretofore reported by Mr. Edwards

During the greater part of the past week, the Senate has been chiefly occupied in debate upon the Appropriation Bill, and a government for the new territories. On the 23d Mr. Dayton proposed an amendment to the bill establishing a sort of temporary government till the end of the next session of Congress. In the course of a speech in support of his proposition he branched off to the Slavery question, contending that the demand of the South, with regard to slave property in the territories, was inconsistent in itself, and that any attempt on their part in contravention of either a law of Congress or a law of a territory to establish Slavery in a territory, would inevitably fail. He contended that the South, excepting some twelve years, out of sixty, had had the administration of the Government in their hands, and that hence they had no occasion of complaint against the alleged arrogant dictations of the North. He maintained that even with the extension of the federal constitution over the new territories, Slavery, except by special local law, could not constitutionally exist in them; but his opposition now to any regular proposition for a territorial government was, that with the express exclusion of Slavery, no territorial bill could pass this body at this time, and without it the measure could not pass the House. As to the power assumed to belong to Congress to create a State, he thought it entirely out of the question, and as a thing which had not the shadow of constitutional authority. And as for the necessity, on account of the influx of population into California, of a permanent territorial or State government, he assumed that this necessity was over-estimated. The number of emigrants, as given in a late list of vessels departed for California, in the *New York Herald* was given at 11,000, including the crews of the ships, and all that had gone out since the commencement of the gold fever. The whole emigration to California from the United States, up to this time, did not exceed, perhaps, eight or nine thousand.

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All, then, that can be or ought to be done for the territories, for the present, is some temporary general regulations, like those applied to Florida and Louisiana, on their acquisition from Spain and France. Besides, he was opposed to establishing so vast a State as California is proposed to be; opposed to the absorption of a numerous Indian tribes, under the authority of a State. Finally, Mr. Dayton considered that under any view of the case, the expedient of his amendment was the proper one to be adopted for the temporary government of California and New Mexico.

Mr, WEBSTER said that it was known to the Senate and the country that he had had no agency in the acquisition of these new territories. He was opposed to all the wars—opposed to all treaties looking to these acquisitions. It required no great sagacity to foresee the the difficulties that must follow them. It was as plain as the sun in the heavens that the acquisition of new territories on the Southern borders of the United States must give rise to great embarrassments. It was not his purpose, now, to mingle, in his remarks, the history of the past; we had enough to do with the present, like prudent and practical men, in considering what we are to do for the preservation of peace. But while he would not now look back upon the past, he would not go far into the future. There are evils which threaten society which may be averted, but there are other evils which find their remedy more in the course of events than in any prescience or prearrangement. The present duty of the government to these territories is to preserve the peace—to secure the well disposed persons against the evil disposed. We can hardly do more than keep the peace until the territory is competent for admission as a State into this Union, or for a regular territorial government.—We should aim at first to keep the peace, without any attempt to enforce the revenue laws, or to change existing municipal regulations. How are the revenue laws to be settled without courts? Who are to seize vessels, who are to libel them, and by what process are they to be condemned? Nothing of this kind can be done till a regular territorial government is established. But, sir, I now propose to resist all amendments to this bill for establighing a territorial government in California. When this bill is disposed of, the House bill (providing to extend the revenue laws over the territory) may be taken up; and that bill will be subject to such amendments as Senators may think fit to offer. He hoped all amendments relating to California would be rejected from this appropriation measure—that it might be disposed of, and the bill taken up from the House. He would avoid all exciting discussions, and do all he could to give some temporory regulations to California.—Sufficient for the day was, he would not say the evil, but the duty thereof.

Mr. FOOTE next followed, and spoke for two hours with his accustomed impetuosity of style, in reply to Mr. Dayton and Mr. Webster; in the vindication of the democratic party; in favour of the amendment of Mr. Walker, as a compromise from a Northern man; and in favour of giving the most ample discretion to President Taylor in his temporary government of the territory. The proposition of Mr. Webster amounted to nothing; that of Mr. Dayton was not so good as the proposition of the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. WALKER said it was now half past four o'clock, and as he desired to be heard upon his amendment, he would move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. ATHERTON urged the value of time, and the necessity of disposing of the appropriation bill.

Messrs. Douglass, Dix, Breese, Atherton, Dickinson, King, and others, followed in a desultory conversation on the pressure of the public business; and then, as if despairing of any vote upon the amendments to-day, the Senate adjourned.

On the 23d, in the House, a Post Office Bill being before the Committee of the Whole, the following debate, after a vain attempt to arrest it as out of order, ensued.

Mr. TURNER was aware that there are many persons in favour of State governments for the territories at this time. He was not vain of his qualities, but he believed that if prejudices were entirely laid aside and stripped of externals, he could convince every member that it is not proper to create State governments for the territories. There are, however, so many externals, that the minds of members are not able to receive sound arguments. But he addressed himself to his constituents, and then to his country; let the test of time bear him out whether he was right or wrong. He was not aware that there was any large or respectable portion of citizens of New Mexico or California who wished to come into the Union as States. Conceding the fact that the people have a right to organize State governments and apply for admission into the Union, he would ask his colleague whether the people of New Mexico and California have met in convention, and applied for admission? Until they make application, it would be an act of tyranny to force State governments on them. Many gentlemen are in favour of this, for the purpose of avoiding the vexed question of Slavery. It is not right that it should be dodged in any way. It should be met boldly, fearlessly. So long as Slavery tends to array one section against another, it should be settled some way or other; it threatens the permenance of the Union. He then took up and reviewed, in condemnation, the Southern Address of the members of Congress.

Mr. MCDOWELL, of Virginia, was in favour of admitting the territories of New Mexico and California as States. The bill which had been introduced by his colleague (Mr Preston) and that introduced by the Senator from Illinois (Mr Douglass), rest on the same basis, and must be rejected or passed on the same foundation, and for similar reasons. Both of these measures, however, are liable to objection, not, in his opinion, fatal objections. He looked on them as furnishing, at a critical moment, a means by which the existing difficulty may be settled. Mr. Madison said that the right of Congress to control a territory was founded in necessity, being a suspension of self-government, and never ought to be extended further and continued longer than occasion may require it. We have the national safety to protect the most important and imperative obligation. On the other hand, government and laws are to be provided for the territories. In all the attempts hitherto made, there has not been success; but they have been rather prolific of apprehension and alarm, and stirring up a spirit of enmity and feud among us. In this gloomy conjecture, meditation and peace, which had no intimacy with sectional interests and feelings—which, cut loose from the abounding sources of jealousy and disturbance, and to which there can be no constitutional objection—can pacifically terminate all national disputes. Our Constitution was founded on compromise; it was a question of wisdom at that day, and is at this day. He called upon Congress to carry out the spirit of that instrument. The South, being the smaller portion of the Union, was not able to protect itself from aggression from without; therefore he asked gentlemen to act in accordance with the objects for which the Constitution was formed; and in its spirit. The people in that section, however, were determined to stand on it while it should exist. If it fails—which God in his mercy forbid!—and if their interests be not protected, then they will have to seek a remedy without the limits of the Constitution, as their own hearts may direct. Before such a state of things should occur, he would invoke the interposition of the safeguard of our Constitution. What State ever sacrificed so much as Virginia? She was the most powerful of all the States, in numbers, wealth, physical capacity, and political influence; and yet she resigned many of her advantages for the protection of the weak. He asked that the North would measure out in return, the measure of justice which she had meted out to them; and let the South realize in her experience that national generosity is not simply unadulterated national folly. Some men will not permit, by their votes, Slavery to exist in the territories, and thus bring the North and South face to face in dread array; but the bill to which he had adverted buried the agitating question, and made up a new issue. He asked that the judgment of the court, as the lawyers say, be entered on a new record. He desired to sink the question for the government of the territories, and the doubts and dangers, and entertain the proposition to admit them on an equal footing with the members of the confederacy, as States, with the rights and jurisdiction of States. We have no control over the international affairs of States. The proposition plants itself on the ground of common arguments, and asks all to come forward to its support. If this be adopted, the bond of our brotherhood will be more complete; the heaving ocean, which rises at our feet, will sink back as smoothe as glass, and tranquil as a summer's sea. Reject it, and you may open up a pit, horrible only as the home of the lost. As to the introduction of Slavery, into the territories, he said it did not increase the number of slaves, nor add one particle to their personal hardships. It adds strength, however, to the South, and this is in perfect accordance with the Constitution. It was a change of locality—nothing more. Instead of letting Slavery drain off, there is a desire to hedge it in. He commenced an eloquent appeal to Massachusetts; but his hour expired. There were cries of "go on, go on," and, by common consent, he proceeded. He said that Virginia and Massachussetts were twin sisters, and shared the horrors and perils of the Revolution; together resisted tyranny, and assisted in establishing a common government. It was their privilege to worship here, standing at a common altar, with clean hands and honest hearts, doing right to all, and wrong to none. It is their hope to carry on a glorious national career, comforting, supporting, cheering one another through the trials of the day, and showing to mankind that nothing can corrupt, and only death can destroy, their union. They were equal before the Revolution, and at the beginning of the Revolution—they were associates in 1777; they were united and equal in 1787; co-operating equal in every sense. Was Massachusetts agreed that they should continue to be equal? We are admonished that Republics which lose their liberty never revive. Although the spirit never dies, it does not re-animate. Would that there was here the spirit of the elder Brutus who gave his son to the axe of justice, because he loved his country better than his son! Would that there was here the spirit of the younger Pitt, or the elder Adams, who, in the midst of suffering, never forgot his country, and who, in his dying hour, prayed that God would remember the land of his birth! Would that there was the spirit of the enthusiastic Frenchman, who, while listening to Mirabeau in vindication of human rights, saw him fall and dying for want of blood, and who ran to him and stripped up his arm and said, "Take it from me—let me die that Mirabeau and the liberties of my country may not perish."—Give us that spirit, and our difficulties will pass away like the summer cloud. Leave the subject of Slavery to the conscience and the counsels of those on whom the providence of God and the Constitution leaves it. Leave it there, now and forever, and stop while stop is possible, and the land of Washington will still be ours—an undivided heritage.

The honourable gentleman's remarks were truly eloquent, and some who listened to him were melted to tears. The above is a mere sketch, and therefore cannot convey a proper idea of the merits of the speech. When Mr. McDowell resumed his seat, there was a cry for the committee to rise, and much confusion.

Mr. PUTNAM had obtained the floor, and commenced speaking, but he could not be heard; and the committee rose.

Mr. WENTWORTH moved that there be an evening session. This

The SPEAKER decided to be out of order.

A proposition was made, and agreed to, that the House again go into committee; and then nearly all the members left the hall, to go to dinner.

Mr, PUTNAM resumed the floor. He said that the gentleman from Virginia had addressed the Committee with a pathos and eloquence seldom, if ever, equalled, it was due that the Commtttee, during the delivery of the speech, should observe silence. It was embarrassing to him to rise under these circumstances, and to succeed the gentleman, especially as nearly all the seats are vacated. He, however, expressed the hope that the sentiments of the gentleman may have due force and influence; and that our difficulties may be adjusted. While he said this, he trusted that the South would not require that the North should agree to a further extension of Slavery. To restrict it was in the spirit of the Revolution, and in conformity to the liberties of our country. He believed that the North would go with the South, if the South would not ask her to extend Slavery, which is in direct opposition to our free institutions. He then proceeded to speak of the treaty with Mexico, contrasting it with the protocol, and in condemnation of the President in connection with it.

Mr. ROOT moved that the Committee rise. A procession was soon to pass through the city, and there would be but a lean-attendance in the hall, even though a better man than himself should speak.

The CHAIRMAN was about to put the question, when

Mr. WENTWORTH remarked that some gentleman had gone home to eat their dinners, and would come back.

Mr. ROOT said that he had sat here ten hours on one occasion. If any one wished to speak, he would resign the floor. A meeting had gone to meet the President elect, and a procession was preparing to escort him to his quarters.

Mr. WENTWORTH remarked, that if the gentleman did not wish to speak, some other gentleman would.

The CHAIRMAN again rose to put the question.

Mr. ROOT was willing to yield the floor, if anybody else wished to go on.

Mr. HOLMES, of New York, said that the position of Mr. Root was just; if no gentleman wants the floor, the committee should rise.

Mr. WENTWORTH—if no gentleman wants to speak, I hope the committee will rise.

Mr. ROOT—If a majority of gentlemen are opposed to rising, I will yield the floor. ["That's right."]

The question was taken, and, by the extraordinary vote of 7 to 12, out a body of 230 members, the committee, or the fraction of it, refused to rise.

It was now ten minutes past four o'clock.

Mr. MANN, of Massachusetts, referring to the empty seats, said that he was in the condition of the young sophomore who was called on to make an address before his fellow students, and who retired into the wilderness and tried his voice, with nobody near to listen to its reverberations. He was like such a young tyro, expecting to prepare himself to speak somewhere else. He then spoke, not only in favour of the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but Slavery itself, as it here exists.

Foreign News.

FOURTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Europa.

The Europa arrived at this port on Saturday last with fourteen days later news from Europe.

The commercial intelligence is cheering. Cotton and Grain are steadily advancing, and American securities were higher than at the last dates.

Parliament has been opened with the usual speech from the Queen, which is highly satisfactory to the reform party. Free Trade doctrines will probably be carried out, corn certainly admitted free, and a reduction take place in the Civil, Military, and Naval departments.

The Lord Lieutenant has recommended a renewal of the Irish Habeas Corpus suspension act, and the bill has been already read once in the House of Commons.

Right Hon. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer is to succeed Sir B. Packenham as Minister to the United States.

The ravages of Cholera still continue.

Another revolution has been imminent in Paris in consequence of the introduction into the Assembly of a bill for the suspension of Clubs, and the proposed disbanding of the Garde Mobile. A large number of troops were held in readiness in Paris for any emergency, and theover lution, if any were really contemplated, was smothered.

In Hungary the Austrians are still victorious, and the Hungarians, it is supposed will not again endeavour to make head against them.

The Assembly at Frankfort have decided in establishing a "Council of the Empire," and that the head of the Nation shall be entitled the Emperor of the Germans. He is to exercise the legislative power in Common with the Diet.

The news from Italy is unimportant.

Married.

In this city on the 28th ultimo, by the Rev. Dr. Patton LUDLOW PATTON to ABBY J. HUTCHINSON, of Milford, New Hampshire.

Died.

On Thursday, the 22d ultimo, at his residence at Great Neck, Long Island, JAMES W. MOTT.

A. Perth Amboy, on the 13th ultimo, JOSEPHINE, wife of Commodore Lawrence Kearne, U. S. Navy.

In Butternuts, 2d instant, JOHN FOX MORRIS, Esq. in the 68th year of his age, second son of the late General Jacob Morris, and grandson of Lewis Morris, one of the sigers of the Declaration of American Independence.

In Francestown, 29th ultimo, Hon. TITUS BROWN, one of the railroad commissioners for New Hampshire, aged 63 years. He was formerly member of Congress.

In Boston, 16th ultimo, of consumption, Mrs. JANE ANN HALE DALE, widow of the late Lieutenant John B. Dale, U. S. Navy. aged 28.

Poetry.

"The Confessional"

[SPAIN.]

I.

It is a lie—their priests, their Pope.
Their saints, their . . . all they fear or hope
Are lies, and lies—there! through my door
And ceiling, there! and walls and floor,
There, lies, they lie, shall still be hurled,
Till spite of them I reach the world!

II.

You think Priests just and holy men!
Before they put me in this den
I was a human creature too,
With flesh and blood like one of you,
A girl that laughed in beauty's pride
Like lilies in your world outside.

III.

I had a lover—shame avaunt!
This poor wrenched body, grim and gaunt,
Was kissed all over till it burned,
By lips the truest love e'er turned
His heart's own tint: one night they kissed
My soul out in a burning mist.

IV.

So, next day, when the accustomed train
Of things grew round my sense again,
'That is a sin,' I said—and slow
With downcast eyes to church I go,
And pass to the confession-chair,
And tell the old mild father there.

V.

But when I faulter Beltran's name,
"Ha?' quoth the father, 'much I blame
The sin; yet wherefore idly grieve?
Despair not—strenuously retrieve!
Nay, I will turn this love of thine
To lawful love, almost divine.

VI

For he is young and led astray,
This Beltran, and he schemes, men say,
To change the laws of Church and State;
So thine shall be an angel's fate,
Who, ere the thunder breaks, should roll
Its cloud away and save his soul.

VII.

For, when he lies upon thy breast,
Thou mayst demand, and be possessed
Of all his plans, and next day steal
To me, and all those plans reveal,
That I and every priest, to purge
His soul, may fast and use the scourge.'

VIII.

That father's beard was long and white,
With love and truth his brow seemed bright;
I went back, all on fire with joy,
And, that same evening, bade the boy
Tell me, as lovers should, heart-free,
Something to prove his love of me.

IX.

He told me what he would not tell
For hope of Heaven or fear of Hell;
And I lay listening in such pride,
And, soon as he had left my side,
Tripped to the church by morning light
To save his soul in his despite.

X.

I told the father all his schemes,
Who were his comrades, what their dreams;
'And now make haste,' I said, 'to pray
The one spot from his soul away;
To-night he comes, but not the same
Will look!' At night he never came.

XI.

Nor next night: On the after morn
I went forth with a strength new born:
The church was empty: something drew
My steps into the street: I knew
It led me to the market-place—
Where, lo!—on high—the father's face!

XII.

That horrible black scaffold drest—
The stapled block: . God sink the rest!
That head strapped back, that blinding vest,
Those knotted hands and naked breast—
Till near one busy hangman pressed—
And—on the neck these arms caressed . . .

XIII.

No part in aught they hope or fear!
No Heaven with them, no Hell,—and here
No Earth—not so much space as pens
My body in their worst of dens,
But shall bear God and Man my cry—
Lies—lies, again—and still, they lie!"—*Browning.*

Miscellany.

PROLOGUE TO LAMARTINE'S FORTHCOMING ROMANCE OF "RAPHAEL."

By the courtesy of the MESSRS. HARPER we have an opportunity of presenting to our readers in advance of the European publication the Prologue to a new work from the pen of one, the movements of whose mind have lately been a study to the whole world. Think what we may of his wisdom and his political stamina, Lamartine by his moderation, no less than his enthusiasm, has won himself an honourable position in the world's affections. The publication of a Romance written in his earlier days, will remind the world in its "melancholy grace," of that heart of humanity (wisely cultured or the reverse) which beats under the robe of office, unhardened by the admiration or neglect of the people; surviving for ever in its old relationships with mother, wife, and child; fastening its "hooks of steel," not on power or station, but the fast mouldering monuments of memory and the affections.—*Literary World.*

PROLOGUE.

The real name of the friend who wrote these pages was not Raphael. We often called him so in sport, because in his boyhood he much resembled a youthful portrait of Raphael, which may be seen in the Barberini gallery at Rome, at the Pitti palace in Florence, and at the Museum of the Louvre. We had given him the name, too, because the distinctive feature of this youth's character was his lively sense of the Beautiful in nature and art; a sense so keen, that his mind was, so to speak, merely the shadowing forth of the ideal or material Beauty scattered throughout the works of God and Man. This feeling was the result of his exquisite and almost morbid sensibility—morbid, at least, until time had somewhat blunted it. We would sometimes, in allusion to those who, from their ardent longings to revisit their country, are called homesick, say that he was heaven-sick, and he would smile, and say that we were right.

This love of the Beautiful made him unhappy; in another situation it might have rendered him illustrious. Had he held a pencil, he would have painted the Virgin of "Foligno; as a sculptor, he would have chiselled the "Psyche" of Canova; had he known the language in which sounds are written, he would have noted the ethereal lament of the sea breeze sighing among the fibres of Italian pines, or the breathing of a sleeping girl who dreams of one she will not name; had he been a poet, he would have written the address of "Job" to "Jehovah," the stanzas of "Tasso's Erminia," the moonlight talk of "Shakspeare's Romeo and Juliet," or Byron's portrait of "Haidee."

He loved the Good as well as the Beautiful, but he loved not virtue for its holiness, he loved it for its beauty. He would have been aspiring in imagination, although he was not ambitious by character. Had he lived in those ancient republics, where men attained their full development through liberty, as the free unfettered body developes itself in pure air and open sunshine, he would have aspired to every summit like Cæsar, he would have spoken as Demosthenes, and would have died as Cato. But his inglorious and obscure destiny confined him, against his will, in speculative inaction—he had wings to spread, and no surrounding air to bear them up.—He died young, straining his gaze into the future, and ardently surveying the space over which he was never to travel.

Every one knows the youthful portrait of Raphael to which I have alluded. It represents a youth of sixteen, whose face is somewhat paled by the rays of a Roman sun, but on whose cheek still blooms the soft down of childhood. A glancing ray of light seems to play on the velvet of the cheek. He leans his elbow on a table, the arm is bent upwards to support the head, which rests on the palm of the hand, and the admirably-modelled fingers are lightly imprinted on the cheek and chin; the delicate mouth is thoughtful and melancholy, the nose is slender at its rise, and slightly tinged with blue, as though the azure veins shone through the fair transparency of the skin; the eyes are of that dark heavenly hue which the Apennine wears at the approach of dawn; they gaze earnestly forward, but are slightly raised to heaven, as though they ever looked higher than nature; a liquid lustre illuminates their inmost depths, like rays dissolved in dew or tears. On the scarcely arched brow, beneath the delicate skin, we trace the muscles, those responsive chords of the instrument of thought; the temples seem to throb with reflection; the ear appears to listen; the dark hair, unskilfully cut by a sister, or some young companion of the studio, throws a dark tint upon the hand and cheek, and a small cap of black velvet, placed on the crown of the head, shades the brow. One cannot pass before this portrait without musing sadly, one knows not why. It represents the reverie of youthful genius pausing on the threshold of its destiny. What will be the fate of that soul standing at the portal of life?

Now, in idea, add six years to the age of that dreaming boy; suppose the features bolder, the complexion more bronzed; place a few furrows on the brow, slightly dim the look, sadden the lips, give height to the figure, and throw out the muscles in bolder relief, let the Italian costume of the days of Leo X. be exchanged for the sombre and plain uniform of a youth bred in the simplicity of rural life, who seeks no elegance in dress, and if the pensive and languid attitude be retained, you will have the striking likeness of our "Raphael" at the age of twenty.

He was of a poor, though ancient family, from the mountainous province of Forez, and his father, whose sole dignity was that of honour (worth all others), had, like the nobles of Spain, exchanged the sword for the plough. His mother, still young and handsome, seemed his sister, so much did they resemble each other. She had been bred amid the luxurious elegancies of a capital; and as the balmy essence of the rose perfumes the crystal vase of the seraglio in which it has once been contained, so she, too, had preserved that fragrant atmosphere of manners and language which never evaporates entirely.

In her secluded mountains, with the loved husband of her choice, and with her children, in whom she had complacently centred all the pride of her maternal heart, she had regretted nothing. She closed the fair book of youth at these three words—"God, husband, children." Raphael especially was her best beloved. She would have purchased for him a kingly destiny, but, alas! she had only her heart with which to raise him up, for their slender fortune and their dreams of prosperity, would ever and anon crumble to their very foundation beneath the hand of fate.

Two holy men, driven by persecution to the mountains, had, soon after the Reign of Terror, taken refuge in her house. They had been persecuted as members of a mystical religious sect which dimly predicted a renovation of the age. They loved Raphael, who was then a mere child, and, obscurely prophesying his fate, pointed out his star in the heavens, and told his mother to watch over that son with all her heart. She reproached herself for being too credulous, for she was very pious, but still she believed them! In such matters, a mother is so easy of belief! Her credulity supported her under many trials, but spurred her to efforts beyond her means to educate Raphael, and ultimately deceived her.

I had known Raphael since he was twelve years old, and next to his mother he loved me best on earth. We had met since the conclusion of our studies first in Paris, then at Rome, whither he had been taken by one of his father's relatives, for the purpose of copying manuscripts in the Vatican Library. There he had acquired the impassioned language and the genius of Italy. He spoke Italian better than his mother tongue. At evening he would sit beneath the pines of the Villa Pamphili, and gazing on the setting sun and on the white fragments scattered on the plain, like the bleached bones of departed Rome, would pour forth extemporaneous stanzas that made us weep. But he never wrote; "Raphael," I would sometimes say, "Why do you not write?"

"Ah!" would he answer, "does the wind write what it sighs in this harmonious canopy of leaves? Does the sea write the wail of its shores? Naught that has been written is truly, really Beautiful, and the heart of man never discloses its best and most divine portion. It is impossible! The instrument is of flesh, and the note is of fire! Between what is felt, and what is expressed," would he add, mournfully, "there is the same distance as between the soul and the twenty-six letters of an alphabet! Immensity of distance! Think you a flute of reeds can give an idea of the harmony of the spheres?"

I left him to return to Paris. He was at that time striving, through his mother's interest, to obtain some situation in which he might by active employment remove from his soul its heavy weight, and lighten the oppressive burden of his fate. Men of his own age sought him, and women looked graciously on him as he passed by. But he never went into society, and of all women he loved his mother only.

We suddenly lost sight of him for three years; though we afterwards learned that he had been seen in Switzerland, Germany, and Savoy; and that in winter he passed many hours of his nights, on a bridge, or on one of the quays of Paris. He had all the appearance of extreme destitution. It was only many years afterwards that we learnt more. We constantly thought of him, though absent, for he was one of those who could defy the forgetfulness of friends.

Chance reünited us once more after an interval of twelve years. It so happened that I had inherited a small estate in his province, and when I went there to dispose of it, I inquired after Raphael. I was told that he had lost father, mother, and wife in the space of a few years; and after these pangs of the heart he had had to bear the blows of fortune, and that of all the domain of his father's, nothing now remained to him but the old dismantled tower on the edge of the ravine, the garden, the orchard, and meadow, and a few acres of unproductive land.

* * * * *

He knew me at a glance, made one step forward with extended arms, and fell back upon the bed.—We first wept, and then talked together. He related the past; how, when he had thought to cull the flowers or fruits of life, his hopes had ever been marred by fortune or by death: the loss of his father, mother, wife, and child; his reverses of fortune, and the compulsory sale of his ancestral domain; he told how he retired to his ruined home, with no other companionship than that of his mother's old herdsman, who served him without pay, for the love he bore to his house; and lastly, spoke of the consuming languor which would sweep him away with the autumnal leaves, and lay him in the church-yard, beside those he had loved so well! His intense imaginative faculty might be seen strong even in death, and in idea he loved to endow with a fanciful sympathy the turf and flowers which would blossom on his grave.

"Do you know what grieves me most?" said he, pointing to the fringe of little birds which were perched round the top of his bed—"it is to think that, next spring, these poor little ones, my latest friends, will seek for me in vain in the tower. They will no longer find the broken pane through which to fly in; and on the floor, the little flocks of wool from my mattrass with which to build their nests;—but the old nurse, to whom I bequeathe my little all, will take care of them as long as she lives," he resumed, as if to comfort himself with the idea—"and after her———Well! God will! for He feedeth the young ravens."

He seemed moved while speaking of these little creatures. It was easy to see that he had long been weaned from the sympathy of men, and that the whole tenderness of his soul, which had been repulsed by them, was now transferred to dumb animals. "Will you spend any time among our mountains?" he inquired. "Yes," I replied. "So much the better," he added; "you will close my eyes, and take care that my grave is dug as close as possible to those of my mother, wife, and child!"

He then begged me to draw towards him a large chest of carved wood, which was concealed beneath a bag of Indian corn at one end of the room. I placed the chest upon the bed, and from it he drew a quantity of papers which he tore silently to pieces, for half an hour, and then bid his old nurse sweep them into the fire. There were verses in many languages, and innumerable pages of fragments, separated by dates, like memoranda. "Why should you burn all these?" I timidly suggested; "has not man a moral as well as a material inheritance to bequeathe to those who come after him? You are perhaps destroying thoughts and feelings which might have quickened a soul."

"What matters it?" he said; "there are tears enough in this world, and we need not deposit a few more in the heart of man." "These," said he, showing his verses, "are the cast off, useless feathers of my soul; it has moulted since then, and spread its bolder wings for eternity!" He then continued to burn and destroy, while I looked out of the broken window at the dreary landscape.

At length, he called me once more to the bedside. "Here," said he—"save this one little manuscript, which I have not courage to burn. When I am gone, my poor nurse would make bags for her seeds with it, and I would not that the name which fills its pages should be profaned. Take it, and keep it till you hear that I am no more. After my death you may burn it, or preserve it till your old age, to think of me sometimes as you glance over it.

I hid the roll of paper beneath my cloak, and took my leave, resolving inwardly to return the next day to soothe the last moments of Raphael by my care and friendly discourse. As I descended the steps, I saw about twenty little children with their wooden shoes in their hands, who had come to take the lessons which he gave them, even on his death-bed. A little further on, I met the village priest, who had come to spend the evening with him. I bowed respectfully, and as he noted my swollen eyes, he returned my salute with an air of mournful sympathy.

The next day I returned to the tower—Raphael had died during the night, and the village bell was already tolling for his burial. Women and children were standing at their doors, looking mournfully in the direction of the tower, and in the little green field adjoining the church, two men, with spades and mattock, were digging a grave at the foot of a cross.

I drew near to the door—a cloud of twittering swallows were fluttering round the open windows, darting in and out, as though the spoiler had robbed their nests.

Since then I have read these pages, and now know why he loved to be surrounded by these birds, and what memories they waked in him, even to his dying day.

EXPERIENCES OF LITERATURE AND LITERARYMEN.

BY AN EX-EDITOR.

The longevity of novels before they die into forgetfulness, would be an amusing branch of research for those versed in literary statistics. How many we recollect reading, of which diligent inquiry now can develope no trace. Some die of their own worthliness, some of neglect, while the longer lived are driven out of the field by new aspirants for the honours of their predecessors if not by superior merit. Scott drew a veil of darkness over a host when "Waverly" appeared.

One of the older works of fiction we recollect about this time was the "Canterbury Tales" of the Misses Lee, a joint production, of which an edition appeared about 1805. Harriet and Sophia Lee kept a boarding school at Bath, called the Belvidere. Sheridan patronized them; Sophia wrote "The Recess," one of the better novels of her time, which we used to read in boyhood with delight. It was then a work of twenty years' standing, published originally in 1786. Harriet, the younger sister, wrote a comedy, but was best known by her "Canterbury Tales," which came to a second edition in 1805. From one of these Byron took the plot of his play of "Werner." They were the most popular of her works. Sophia was said to have written two of the stories. We remember lugging home under our arm, the five volumes of which they consisted, and devouring the contents in secret. Jane Porter's "Thaddeus of Warsaw" we have already mentioned. Her "Scottish Chiefs" and "Pastor's Fireside," the last published in 1815, did not so much please us—we were ten years older and perhaps less easy to be pleased. The "Hungarian Brothers," and the "Recluse of Norway" were written by Annie Maria, her sister. We can only remember we preferred the product of Jane's pen to her sister's. Robert Ker Porter, an artist, who went to Russia afterwards, and got knighted there, painted a picture of the battle of Agincourt, which crowds went to see, ourselves among the rest. We were much struck with the spirit it displayed in the principal figures.

We remember that an exhibition was open in Fleet-Street about the same time as that of Mr. Porter's, of the pictures of George Moreland, who had died about a year before. This we visited twice, struck with the homely faithfulness to nature of most of the paintings. There was a Thunder Storm among these pictures, which we even now see in fancy, charmingly but boldly dashed off.

From other novelists of that time, and later times as well, Miss Edgeworth bore the palm, and held it the longest. She began about 1798, perhaps a year or two before, and kept a well sustained position for a long period. Her "Castle Rackrent" was her first work we ever read. The second production of this lady's that fell in our way was her "Essay on Irish Bulls." Her "Popular Tales" were also deservedly "popular." Her "Patronage," which we read about 1815, was equal to any of her preceding works, and marked with her beauties and defects perhaps more strongly. There was little to startle the reader in her writings. No high flights of genius, nor were there any corresponding depressions, for she was not the creature of extremes. Her flight was equally sustained. She was an accurate observer of character possessing the highest moral feeling. She penetrated deeply into motive, was alive to all the weaknesses of social existence, and never conceded indulgence where virtue demanded corrective censure. Read with high satisfaction in her better moods she did not displease when less happy. She never abandoned in her works as modern novel writers do, some high moral end. She felt that amusement, unless conjoined with the exalted object of moral improvement, or teaching some useful lesson, was an unworthy aim of literature, and, to a certain degree, a misapplication of a writer's powers. She sometimes, indeed, marked her end by making her object too prominent, and in such cases she was not relished by that numerous class of every-day readers, who seek only to murder time. She ventured occasionally on the descriptions of scenes to which she was not familiarized, and failed. Her plots were not always sufficiently varied. She did not fully admit the combination of the great virtues and vices seen in some energetic characters, and hence in her love of what was good and her dislike of evil, she forgot a great natural law and lessened the striking effect she might otherwise produce. She had, perhaps, a fear of creating admiration for what was of evil tendency. She would increase the sum of moral good by analogous means. She might fail on this account of effecting her object with inert sensibilities, that could only be touched by startling contrasts, but upon the larger part of her readers she would be fully effective. We do not mean that she was not sometimes improbable and extravagant, but, for the most part, her narratives were stamped with authenticity in an eminent degree. She was our favourite in days of youth and passion, for she ever seemed imbued with an innate feeling for what was good, and youth and passion are attached to what is good, even when too heedless of evil themselves. We could never relish "parson" Hannah More, while Miss Edgeworth we read with avidity. Her imaginative powers were of a high order. She loved her country, and loved, too, all classes of its inhabitants. She never suffered the hollow pretensions of rank or wealth to prevail over justice or sound morality. She painted her characters to admiration, none could surpass in accuracy her descriptions, and all that was good she coloured with gentleness and beauty. Her merit so equable, the benevolent views, the prodigality of her invention, and her sympathy with her kind, must prevent her writings from being forgotten. She had a crowd of servile imitators, who proved sufficiently that "none are ever great by imitation."

Miss Owenson had then published "St. Clair, or the Heiress of Desmond," "The Novice of St. Dominick," and the "Wild Irish Girl," as we have mentioned. Her "Patriotic Sketches of Ireland" were also published, we believe, before she changed her name. The "Novice of St. Dominick" was a general favourite, and the rage to obtain it at the circulating libraries was so great that it was with difficulty that we obtained it. This lady's writings were of various kinds, all stamped with that love of country which marks the sex in the sister island. We have not a vivid recollection of the date of all her works. "Ida of Athens" subsequently published, was always a great favourite of ours. It was full of imagination, and touches of the romantic Lady Morgan wrote cleverly and with piquancy on all subjects. There was, however, apart from her novels, and particularly in her continental tours, too much of attempt at effect, and a use of foreign languages by no means in the best taste. Shrewd, intellectual, social, and of much more varied reading than her sex in general, Lady Morgan always made a sensation when any of her works appeared. The tyrant of Austria, Francis, did her the honour to interdict her entrance into any part of the Austrian dominions because she wrote the truth fearlessly respecting his actions or those of some of his subordinates. The heads of 34,000,000 of people with an army of 500,000 men, was alarmed at the truth from the pen of a feeble woman. This was something of which any authoress might feel justly proud.

Clara Reeve, who died nearly about 1806 or 1807 delighted us with "The Old English Baron." We were ignorant at the time she had stolen her plot from Horace Walpole, but had we known it we should have been equally well pleased.

"The Abbess," a romance, by the forger of the Shakespeare MSS. W. H. Ireland, we well recollect perusing; neither did we deem it the worst novel of the class and time. It was read, and went, we believe, through two editions. Ireland was a man of middling height, with somewhat acute features and a florid complexion. His forgery confessions were published in 1805. Had the forgery not involved the character of the father so much that he was said to have died of a broken heart in consequence, the hoax would have been of less moment; that mischievous reprobate, Hook, would have gloated over it. The success this forgery met with, and the division of opinion about the authenticity of the plays showed up well the vanity of criticism. "Vortigern," one of the forgeries, was acted at Drury Lane, and might have passed muster but for the judgment of Mr. Malone, and the publication of his detection of the fraud. Ireland did not want cleverness; he was ingenious but ill-principled. He died in the King's Bench about twenty years ago.

"The Children of the Abbey," by Regina Maria Roche, was a popular novel about the end of the 18th century. It was read with zest in our youth, and we well remember some of its scenes. It was as good a specimen as can now be found of what the novel-reading taste was at that time. "The Discarded Son" was another of this lady's works, which appeared in 1806 or 1807. "The Children of the Abbey" is among the cheap editions of the present day.

Perhaps no female author made more noise with less title to be deemed above the ordinary class of writers of her day, than Anna Seward, of Lichfield. Full of pretension, affected, and obscure, she was a favourite of the hour, and is now meritedly forgotten. It is difficult to find any production of this lady's that will bear a second perusal. She wrote a sort of poetical novel called "Louisa," a life of Dr. Darwin, with several monodies and elegies which are long since in the tomb of the Capulets. She exhibited no powers of invention, and her descriptive talents were far surpassed in many of the works of the Minerva Press at that time, but she was the adopted child of an evanescent fashion.

Pratt, in that day a most voluminous writer, now forgotten, among his other works published a novel called "Emma Corbet." He also wrote a work entitled "Gleanings," which made considerable noise, but, as I remember, was little above common place. He had, or effected to have, the character of a philanthropist. Never did one who wrote so much really write so little worth reading. His novel had been in circulation then for nearly twenty years in the libraries, having held its place, through his continual publications of all sorts, keeping the author's name alive.

"Queenbee Hall," a posthumous publication by Joseph Strutt, author of "Rural Games and the "Pastimes of the People," and not published for several years after the writer's decease, fell into our hands by accidental purchase. This had been left unfinished by the author. It deserves particular notice, because it was the first endeavour we know of to embody a story of the olden time with correctness of keeping in character, dress, and custom. It may, therefore, be said to have led the way to subsequent improvements in these respects. As *Macbeth* was once played in a bagwig, so the old novelists gave modern dresses, language, and customs to ancient characters, or those intended to be such. Strutt, with his profound knowledge of our ancient manners, was admirably qualified to commence a beneficial reform in this respect. The scene was laid in Hertfordshire, in the time of Henry VI. The principal character was a Lord Boteler. It was unfortunate that Strutt did not live to complete his task, which was not well brought to a conclusion by another hand. We have often thought of Strutt as a sort of herald to Scott, in his first connecting the keeping of character and custom. Strutt had no claim to genius, but, deeply read in our national antiquities, thus unconsciously became a reformer of our school of romance writers. He died in 1802. If we recollect right, his romance did not appear until 1809, and made a considerable noise. We were enraptured with its information.

We cannot pretend to give these remarks in chronological order, but rather in that succession in which memory may present them. We, and several of our friends had clubbed a sum of money to establish a paper in a distant part of the country. We sent a Scotchman to manage it, who had too great a predisposition for "pottle potations" in a place where there was so much temptation. We sometime afterwards went to supersede him, and hence we were obliged somewhat unwillingly to undertake the editorship. This for a time took us away from the capital.—*Jerrolds News.*

JEFFREYS,

THE INFAMOUS TORY JUDGE OF CHARLES II.

The great seal was left in Guilford's custody; but a marked indignity was, at the same time offered to him. It was determined that another lawyer of more viguor and audacity should be called to assist in the administration. The person selected was Sir George Jeffreys, chief justice of the court of King's bench. The depravity of this man has passed into a proverb. Both the great English parties have attacked his memory with emulous violence; for the whigs considered him as their most barbarous enemy; and the tories found it convenient to throw on him the blame of all the crimes which had sullied their triumph. A diligent and candid inquiry will show that some frightful stories which have been told concerning him are false or exaggerated; yet the dispassionate historian will be able to make very little deduction from the vast mass of infamy with which the memory of the wicked judge has been loaded.

He was a man of quick and vigorous parts, but constitutionally prone to insolence and to the angry passions. When just emerging from boyhood, he had risen into practice at the Old Bailey bar—a bar where advocates have always used a license of tongue unknown in the Westminister Hall. Here, during many years, his chief business was to examine and cross-examine the most hardened miscreants of a great capital. Daily conflicts with prostitutes and thieves called out and exercised his powers so effectually that he became the most consummate bully ever known in his profession. All tenderness for the feelings of others, all self-respect, all sense of the becoming, were obliterated from his mind. He acquired a boundless command of the rhetoric in which the vulgar express hatred and contempt.—The profusion of maledictions and vituperative epithets, which composed his vocabulary, could hardly have been rivalled in the fish market or the bear garden. His countenance and his voice must always have been unamiable; but those natural advantages—for such he seems to have thought them—he had improved to such a degree that there were few who, in his paroxysms of rage could see or hear him without emotion.

Impudence and ferocity sat upon his brow. The glare of his eyes had a fascination for the unhappy victim on whom they were fixed, yet his brow and eyes were said to be less terrible than the savage lines of his mouth. His yell of fury, as was said by one who had often heard it, sounded like the thunder of the judgment day. These qualifications he carried, while still a young man, from the bar to the bench. He early became common sergeant, and then recorder of London. As judge of the city sessions he exhibited the same propensities, which afterward, in a higher post, gained for him an unenviable immortality. Already might be remarked in him the most odious vice which is incident to human nature a delight in misery merely as misery. There was a fiendish exultation in the way in which he pronounced sentence on offenders. Their weeping and imploring seemed to titilate him voluptuously; and he loved to scare them into fits by dilating with luxuriant amplifications on all the details of what they were to suffer. Thus, when he had an opportunity of ordering an unlucky adventuress to be whipped at the cart's tail. "Hangman," he would exclaim, "I charge you to pay particular attention to this lady! Scourge her soundly, man! Scourge her till the blood runs down! It is Christmas; a cold time for a madam to strip in! See that you warm her shoulders thoroughly!' He was hardly less facetious when he passed judgment on Ludowick Muggleton, the drunken tailor, who fancied himself a prophet. "Impudent rogue!" roared Jeffreys, "thou shalt have an easy, easy, easy punishment!" One part of this punishment was the pillory, in which the wretched fanatic was almost killed with brickbats.

By this time the nature of Jeffreys had been hardened to the temper which tyrants require in their worst implements. He had hitherto looked for professional advancement to the corporation of London. He had, therefore, professed himself a Roundhead, and had always appeared to be in a higher state of exhileration when he explained to popish priests that they were to be cut down alive, and were to see their own bodies burned, than when he passed ordinary sentences of death. But, as soon as he had got all that the city could give, he made haste to sell his forehead of brass and his tongue of venom, to the court. Chiffinch, who was accustomed to act as broker in infamous contracts of more than one kind, lent his aid. He had conducted many amorous and political intrigues, but he assuredly never rendered a more scandalous service to his masters than when he introduced Jeffreys to Whitehall. The renegade soon found a patron in the obdurate and revengeful James, but was always regarded with scorn and disgust by Charles, whose faults, great as they were, had no affinity with insolence and cruelty. "That man," said the king, "has no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carroted street walkers." Work had to be done, however, which could be trusted to no man who reverenced law or was sensible to shame; and thus Jeffreys, at an age at which a barrister thinks himself fortunate if he is employed to lead an important cause, was made Chief Justice of the king's bench.

His enemies could not deny that he possessed some of the qualities of a great judge. His legal knowledge, indeed, was merely such as he had picked up in practices of no very high kind; but he had one of those happy constituted intellects which across labyrinths of sophistry and through masses of the material facts, go straight to the true point. Of his intellect, however, he had seldom the full use. Even in civil causes his malevolent and despotic temper perpetually disordered his judgment. To enter the den of a wild beast, which none could tame, and which was likely to be roused to rage by caresses as attacks. He frequently poured forth on the plaintiffs and defendants, barristers and attorneys, witnesses and jurymen, torrents of frantic abuse, intermixed with oaths and curses. His looks and tones had inspired terror when he was merely a young advocate struggling into practice. Now that he was at the head of the most formidable tribunal in the realm, there were few indeed who did not tremble before him.

Even when he was sober, his violence was sufficiently frightful; but in general his reason was overclouded, and his evil passions stimulated by the fumes of intoxication. His evenings were ordinarily given to revelry. People who saw him only over his bottle would have supposed him to be a man gross indeed, sottish, and addicted to low company and low merriment, but social and good humoured. He was constantly surrounded on such occasions by buffoons selected for the most part from the vilest pettifoggers who practised before him. These men bantered and abused each other for his entertainment. He joined in their ribald talk, sang catches with them, and when his head grew hot, hugged and kissed them in an ecstacy of drunken fondness. But, though wine first seemed to soften his heart, the effect of a few hours later was very different. He often came to the judgment seat, having kept the court waiting long, and yet having but half slept off his debauch, his cheeks on fire, his eyes starting like those of a maniac. When he was in this state his boon companions of the preceeding night, if they were wise kept out of his way, for the recollection of the familiarity to which he had admitted them inflamed his malignity, and he was sure to take every opportunity of overwhelming them with execration and invective. Not the least odious of his many odious peculiarities was the pleasure he took in publicly browbeating and mortifying those whom, in his fits of maudlin tenderness, he had encouraged to presume on his favour.

The services which the Government had expected from him were performed, not merely without flinching, but eagerly and triumphantly. His first exploit was the judicial murder of Algernon Sidney. What followed was in perfect harmony with this beginning. Respectable tories lamented the disgrace which the barbarity and independency of so great a functionary brought upon the administration of justice; but the excesses which filled such men with horror were titles to the esteem of James.—Jeffreys, therefore, after the death of Charles, obtained a seat in the cabinet and a peerage. This last honour was a signal mark of royal approbation; for since the judicial system of the realm had been remanded, in the thirteenth century, no chief justice, had been a member of Parliament.—[*Macaulay.*

—— LOUIS NAPOLEON seems unfortunate in his ornithological associations. His Strasbourg and Boulogne eagles have amused the world. The other day, at his Inauguration, some poor fellow, with more humour than discretion, hoisted a paper kite in the semblance of the same royal bird, which he was managing to get exactly over the head of the new President, when Changarnier observing the ludicrous manœuvre, sent an aide-de-camp to cut the string and consign the flyer to the guard-house. In the meantime, the *New Orleans Delta* starts the following:—"The story, which is well authenticated, runs, that Louis Napoleon had expressed a desire to shoot a wild turkey, and borrowing a gun from one of our hospitable planters, with whom he was sojourning, went into the woods in search of the valuable fowl against which he entertained such bloody designs. He had not gone far before a large black-looking bird, strongly resembling a turkey, sprang up, and stretching its huge wings, began to soar leisurely above him. The Prince immediately threw up his double-barrel, and blazed away at the bird, which fell dead at his feet. Straightway he seized his game and hurried homewards; not, however, without experiencing considerable annoyance from the very pungent odour which the bird emitted. Before he had reached the house, the fragrance becoming almost too strong for endurance, the Prince drew forth a bottle of eau-de-cologne, and held it to his nose with his left-hand, whilst, with the right, he bore his turkey at arm's length. Arrived at the house, where a large company was assembled on the gallery, the Prince rushed up to them, and throwing his game on the floor, exclaimed: 'By Gar, your turkey may be good to eat, but he be d——d bad to smell!' We need not inform our readers that the ornithological education of the President elect of the French Republic had been neglected; and he had mistaken a turkey-buzzard for a turkey.

"Now, we do not know how this incident would have operated upon the result of the late election, and we beg our readers to believe that, in withholding it, we were not influenced by any expectations of enjoying a portion of the Princely-President's patronage; but in this country, we do not think it would be a hazardous assertion, that no man could attain the Presidency or any other elevated office, who could not tell a turkey from a turkey-buzzard."—*Literary World.*

ISAAC DISRAELI'S HABITS AND APPEARANCE.—He was himself a complete literary character, a man who really passed his life in his library. Even marriage produced no change in these habits; he rose to enter the chamber where he lived alone with his books, and at night his lamp was ever lit within the same walls. Nothing, indeed, was more remarkable than the isolation of this prolonged existence; and it could only be accounted for by the united influence of three causes: his birth, which brought him no relations or family acquaintance; the bent of his disposition; and the circumstance of his inheriting an independent fortune, which rendered unnecessary those exertions that would have broken up his self-reliance. He disliked business and he never required relaxation; he was absorbed in his pursuits. In London, his only amusement was to ramble among booksellers; if he entered a club, it was only to go into the library. In the country, he scarcely ever left his room but to saunter in abstraction upon a terrace, muse over a chapter, or coin a sentence. .. .. As the world has always been fond of personal details respecting men who have been celebrated, I will mention that he was fair, with a Bourbon nose, and brown eyes of extraordinary beauty and lustre. He wore a small black velvet cap, but his white hair latterly touched his shoulders in curls almost as flowing as in his boyhood. His extremities were delicate and well-formed, and his leg, at his last hour, as shapely as in his youth; which showed the vigour of his frame. Latterly, he had become corpulent. He did not excel in conversation, though in his domestic circle he was garrulous. One of his last acts was to compose some verses of gay gratitude to his daughter-in-law, who was his London correspondent, and to whose lively pen his last years were indebted for constant amusement. He had by nature a singular volatility, which never deserted him. His feelings, though always amiable, were not painfully deep, and amid joy or sorrow the philosophic vein was ever evident. He more resembled Goldsmith, than any man that I can compare him to: in his conversation, his apparent confusion of ideas ending with some felicitous phrase of genius, his naïveté, his simplicity not untouched with a dash of sarcasm affecting innocence—one was often reminded of the gifted and interesting friend of Burke and Johnson. There was, however, one trait in which my father did not resemble Goldsmith—he had no vanity.—[When we [*Jerrolds News*] look at the self-laudation quoted in the first paragraph, and at inumerable other passages in the author's writing, this conclusion may be doubted; or Mr. Benjamin Disraeli must attach a very different meaning to the word "vanity" from what others abscribe to it.]—*Preface to the New Edition of the Curiosities of Literature.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

A PECULIAR RACE.—I have now and then met a peculiar race scattered through Ireland, with lovely, rich, dark brown hair, having a golden tinge—the real auburn; the skin is soft and beautiful; the thinking forehead forms almost a line with the straight mild nose; the mouth, lips, and chin are exquisite; the teeth are white and well set; and then that expressive, soft dark eye contains so much honest love, it really speaks; the whole countenance is expanded and open; such harmony of parts. . . The man is equally elegant. . . Occasionally you will meet this race doing penance on Holy Island, performing a weary pilgrimage round and round on the bare knee, travelling the rough pathway on the toilsome crag of some holy well.—Dr. Massy (*Medical Times.*)

THE POTATO.—Professor Mülder, so well known by his discovery of proteine, (the much controverted substance), has just fulminated a solemn condemnation of the potato. "As an article of food," says the learned chemist, "this tuber is not nourishing, and is the cause of the moral and physical degradation of the nations who make use of it," &c. The question, however, does not, exclusively lie in the consideration of the nutritive principles, but, whether the same are or are not of easy assimilation: for we might as well feed on gutta percha, caoutchouc, or urea, if these principles alone were kept in view.—*L'Union Médicale.*

JOHN BULL LOSING HIS COMBATIVENESS.—Look at our Syrian quarrel, our Tahiti difference, our Maine and our Oregon squabbles. Did any one of these give rise to one angry burst of popular English feeling? Look at our sign-posts, our ballads, our popular literature: has any one of the military or naval men who have achieved the most brilliant feats since 1815—have they been able to become the idols of the smallest niche in the temple of British admiration? Is it not evident to all that the days of hero-worship are departed, and that the admiration of military feats, which fed it, has given way in the English mind to esteem and to aspirations of altogether a different kind? We think, therefore, that the great preliminary task which the *Times* assigns to Mr. Cobden of taming the truculent spirit of the savage and warlike Englishman has been long since performed. We look, indeed, upon the whole free-trade movement as the great outward sign and manifestation of the change which has been silently wrought on the English mind, and consisted chiefly in an obliteration of the hateful and defiant passions which mark early, or, at least, imperfect stages of civilization, and the substitution of the more humane and more manly, and more charitable, and more wise, and more intellectual and hopeful spirit, that now animates all classes of Englishmen. Mr. Cobden himself appears to us not the originator of the great free-trade movement, or peace movement; but the result, the child, and the instrument of both. Mr. Cobden's aims and calling as a politician have never appeared to us to be the instilling into the British mind a principle that was not there. He merely has seized upon that which was not only already sown, but sprouting; he has but fostered, and protected, and fertilized the growth of what he found a germ, and which he made a tree.—*Daily News.*

ICARIA.—IS IT EXISTENT OR NON-EXISTENT.—Under this head appear many letters, with editorial remarks, in M. Cabet's paper, *Le Populaire*. These are meant to meet the attacks of the *Times*, and of several of the French papers, as to the failure of the proposed settlement of Icaria; the failure is not denied, but *Le Populaire* maintains that it is retrievable. After alluding to the efforts made of old to benefit mankind, and the persecution of those who so laboured, the writer says, (we translate freely):—

"We resume their work, and are determined, now more than ever, to pursue the full realization of their divine principle, fraternity. No difficulty, no obstacle shall stop us; we know that our Icaria is fairer than all the empires of the actual world, and that it is capable of producing that happiness to which humanity has aspired for so many centuries.—Should we fail a thousand times, we will rise again to recommence anew; again to combat the obstacles in our path unto a triumph, definitive and complete. To us, then, all brethren of all countries who share our faith and our hopes! We form but one family, and ought all to participate in the efforts of our brethren, the soldiers of Icaria, the soldiers of humanity! Let us sustain them with all our strength, all our means. They seek Icaria, they found it, they have not abandoned, and never will abandon it?"

Another writer in the same paper attributes the failure to a betrayer (homme vendu), to whose care the advanced guard had been confided, and to the mercenariness of others, who thought merely of benefitting themselves, and were unprepared to endure any privation, to submit to any self denial.

The letters are nearly all from New Orleans, written by the Icarians whilst awaiting the arrival of M. Cabet. They breathe generally a hopeful spirit. We translate one from M. Taxil, a physician, as a specimen of the whole. It is dated New Orleans, Dec. 14:—

"My children,—I reached New Orleans on the 7th. You perhaps know what awaited us here; our peaceful army was in full retreat, which, conducted with much order, allows us to rally here, awaiting our gérant (M. Cabet), that we may benefit by his directions. Be tranquil on my account. We are still animated by the same faith, the same devotion. Give ear to no calumny, to none of those exaggerated reports as to the events passing at a distance. All enterprises of this nature are surrounded with a crowd of unknown possibilities; but we shall set out with good will and devotedness. Fear nothing. I would not deceive you; no danger threatens us. I look you up fondly in my heart.

"Your father, D. TAXIL."

We thus give a plain statement of the matter, according to the version of M. Cabet's supporters, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.—*Jerrold's News.*

LITERARY PROPERTY.—The £600 a year for ten years to Mr. Macaulay, for ten years' copyright of the first two volumes of his "History of England," is perhaps the largest sum ever given for a work in two volumes. The largest sums heretofore known to have been paid are—4 000 guineas to Washington Irving for his "Life of Columbus," in four volumes, octavo—2,000 guineas to Moore for his "Life of Byron," in two volumes, quarto—and £8,500 for ten years to the present Bishop of Oxford and his brother for the "Life of Wilberforce," in five volumes, octavo. Mr. Roberts is said to have received 3000 guineas for his "Life of Hannah Moore," in five volumes, octavo,—Mr. Twiss 2.000 guineas from his "Life of Lord Elden,"—and Mr. Stanley something like 1,500 guineas, from his "Life of Dr. Arnold;" but these were receipts upon the sale, not specific sums given by the way of speculation like the payments to Moore, Irving Wilberforce and Macaulay. The largest sum ever realized by any one work whilst it continued to be called a new publication, was £18 000, the proceeds of Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon,"—the work of 12 months, and published in nine volumes, octavo, in 1827. "The Row" was literally beseiged with demands for the "Life of Napoleon," as Stationers' Hall used to be on "Almanac Day"—when the exclusive privilege of printing almanacs belonged to the Stationers' Company. Of large sums realized by the sale of new works in a very short period, several of the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the monthly issues of Mr. Dickens might be instanced as probably, both in numbers and profit, exceeding anything in literature since Sacheverel's "Trial," or Dryden's "Hind and Panther,"—the two most remarkable instances of successful publication recorded in the early history of book selling in this country. The "Life of Columbus" has not yet, we believe, paid its expenses; the "Life of Byron" was a loss till its appearance in one thick volume with double columns; and the "Life of Wilberforce," it is well known, was a heavy failure. Mr. Macaulay's annuity is, therefore, a lottery with the Messrs. Longman. The best and most remunerative books in English literature have been bought by booksellers at the lowest prices.—*Athenæum.*

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